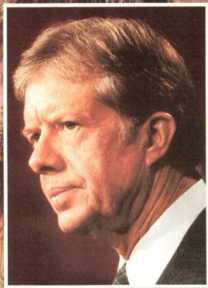


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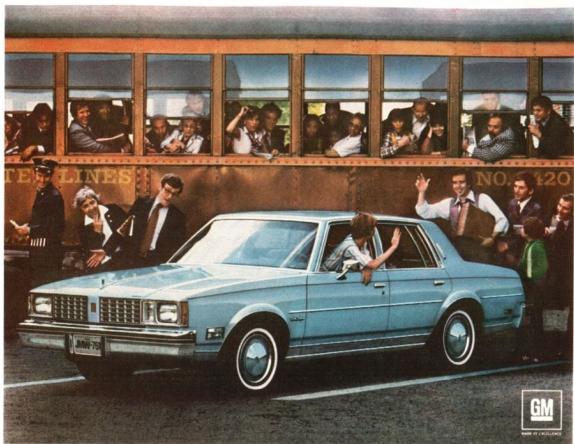
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TIME

THE TEST OF WILLS




CUTLASS WATCHERS, LOOK AGAIN. WE'VE HAD A 4-DOOR BUILT FOR YOU.



Introducing 1980 Olds Cutlass Brougham Sedan. All the Cutlass flair, plus the convenience of four doors. What makes this sedan so special is that it's a Cutlass. America's most popular mid-size car. But with the beautiful convenience of four doors. Like other Cutlasses, it offers the fuel economy you need today.

Remember: The boxed EPA estimates are for comparison to other cars. Your mileage and range depend on your speed, weather and trip length; your actual highway mileage and range will probably be less than the highway estimates. Driving range estimates are obtained by multiplying the EPA and highway estimates by the standard fuel tank capacity rating of 18 gallons. Estimates lower in Calif. Oldsmobiles are equipped with GM-built engines produced by various divisions. See your dealer for details.

In 1980, why be on the outside looking in? See your Olds dealer about buying or leasing one of the three new Cutlass Sedan models today. 

20 <small>EPA EST. MPG</small>	360 <small>EST. DRIVING RANGE</small>
27 <small>HWY. EST. MPG</small>	486 <small>EST. HIGHWAY RANGE</small>

Oldsmobile

WE'VE HAD ONE BUILT FOR YOU.

A COMPONENT ENSEMBLE IS ONLY AS GOOD AS THE COMPONENTS ENSEMBLED.

There are many component ensembles on the market today.

But not all of them give the high fidelity you deserve.

Even some of the more expensive component ensembles are more pleasing to look at than listen to. Many of them contain one or two weaker components that lower high fidelity performance.

Pioneer Component Ensembles, on the other hand, contain only Pioneer components. And the same engineering and skilled workmanship that goes into every one of these components also goes into designing every one of these Pioneer Component Ensembles.

Pioneer audio engineers carefully match every tuner, amplifier, speaker,

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You don't have to do any matching yourself. In fact, the only thing you have to do is select the Component Ensemble that best fits your budget.

Needless to say, this is a very strong case for buying a Pioneer Component Ensemble. But it isn't the only one.

There's the beautiful case that houses every Pioneer Component Ensemble. It's specially designed to hold every part of your system. And to fit perfectly into every decor. It's this case that makes high fidelity something that should be seen as well as heard.

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Though their prices vary to fit every budget, there's one thing that always remains the same.

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PIONEER®
We bring it back alive.

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High Fidelity Components
85 Oxford Drive, Moonachie, N.J. 07074



CE 22

How a phone call solved the mystery of the sandy teacups.

Based on an actual call made to the toll-free 24-hour Whirlpool Cool-Line® service.

(Telephone Rings)

Cool-Line Consultant: Whirlpool Cool-Line. May I help you?

Woman: I just bought a Whirlpool dishwasher and I keep finding sand in my teacups. Can you help me?

Consultant: That's why I'm here. Now, about the sand. Are the rest of your dishes clean?

Woman: They're fine. My husband's a Mexican food freak. Even pans with baked-on refried beans get clean. But where did the sand come from?

Consultant: What does the sand look like?

Woman: Like...sand. In a puddle of water that didn't drain out of the teacup.

Consultant: If you're seeing "sand," it could be your dishwasher detergent hasn't dissolved. Do you have a cup with some "sand" in it now?

Woman: Right here by the phone.

Consultant: Does the "sand" look like detergent?

Woman: You mean this is detergent?!

Consultant: Look closer.

Woman: It does look like detergent. So why didn't it dissolve?

Consultant: Check your water temperature. At your dishwasher, it should be at least 140°. If it's okay, then I suggest you buy a fresh box of detergent. Dishwasher detergent sometimes has a very short shelf life and doesn't dissolve completely when it's old. And make sure you load your teacups properly, so all the water drains out.

Woman: Wow. You really helped. Sorry I bothered you, but at least I didn't have to call a repairman. Thanks for your time.

Consultant: Glad I could help.

This is the kind of two-way communication we've been having with our Whirlpool Cool-Line service for the past eleven years. It's just one example of the continuing concern we have for customers who purchase quality Whirlpool appliances.

If you ever have a question or problem with your Whirlpool appliance, call our toll-free 24-hour Cool-Line service at 800-253-1301. In Alaska and Hawaii, dial 800-253-1121. In Michigan, call 800-632-2243. If our Cool-Line service can't help, we have Whirlpool franchised Tech-Care® service representatives all over the country who can.


Whirlpool
Home Appliances
Quality. Our way of life.



A Letter from the Publisher

Though the 1980 election is still eleven months away, Republican Candidate Ronald Reagan says he is already spending so much time traveling that he no longer feels that he just gets on airplanes: "I wear them." That view is shared by TIME's National Political Correspondent, John Stacks, who has a mandate to range far and frequently to meet candidates and test political moods. In the past two months, Stacks has done extensive firsthand reporting on Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy, California Governor Jerry Brown, Texas Republican George Bush and Reagan. He and Los Angeles Correspondent Joseph Kane collaborated on the profile and interview of the former actor and Governor that appear in the Nation section this week, on the occasion of Reagan's formal announcement of his candidacy for the White House. Says Stacks: "What I expect to be doing in the coming months is a great deal of flying—on big planes, medium-sized ones, little ones. Constant motion is the first rule of political coverage. The variety of places to visit and sources to see is the best protection against misunderstanding the politics of any campaign year."

Pennsylvania-born Stacks, who lives in the Washington suburb of Chevy Chase, Md., majored in political science at Yale



Correspondent John Stacks

(64) and got his first journalistic exposure to national politics as a general assignment reporter for the Washington *Star*. By the 1968 campaign he had joined TIME, for which he covered the Democratic candidates through the election. In 1972, as Boston bureau chief, he followed the New England primaries, and in 1976 he was part of the Washington bureau team that trailed the Carter-Mondale campaign. After taking a leave from his correspondent's duties—first to help Watergate Judge John Sirica compose his memoirs, later to write as a member of TIME's New York staff—Stacks returned to the pursuit of politicians.

This will keep Stacks airborne. Last week, when Reagan went to New York City to launch his presidential drive at a dinner in Manhattan, Stacks was unable to attend because of a previous engagement: he had flown to Des Moines for three days of watching George Bush beat the bushes in Iowa. Despite all the arduous travel involved, Stacks takes special pleasure in campaign reporting. "Politicians are sometimes silly, sometimes banal, frequently self-serving and occasionally absolutely unbearable," he says. "But they are just as often earnest, serious and creative in proposing solutions to the problems the nation faces. In an election year, there is no better assignment in journalism."

John A. Meyers

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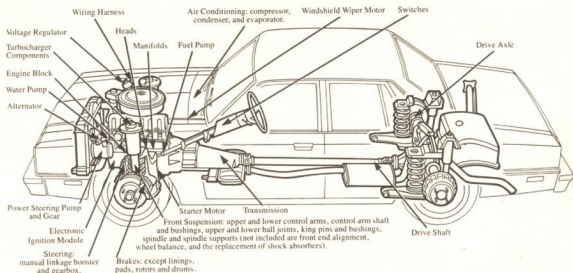
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IT CAN EXTEND PROTECTION TO EVERYTHING SHOWN HERE FROM 12 MONTHS/12,000 MILES TO 3 YEARS/50,000 MILES.



What it covers.

Briefly, it covers parts and labor for repair of defects in the major parts of the entire power train, certain steering system parts, the electronic ignition module, front suspension (except alignment), drive axle, the basic electrical system, brakes (except for linings, pads, rotors, and drums), the turbocharger (where applicable), and factory-installed air conditioning (parts illustrated above). If you normally use and properly care for your car, and perform the routine maintenance called for in the Owner's Manual, your new Ford Motor Company vehicle is protected from the high cost of repair bills from date of delivery for up to 3 years or 36,000 miles (whichever comes first). Or you can choose an extended plan that protects you for 3 years or 50,000 miles.

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CAR COVERED	SUGGESTED PRICE	
	3 yr./ 36,000 mi.	3 yr./ 50,000 mi.
Courier	\$149	\$179
Fiesta, Pinto, Bobcat, Mustang, Capri, Fairmont and Zephyr	\$175	\$215
Granada, Monarch, Cougar XR-7, Thunderbird	\$225	\$275
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Bronco, F-100 through F-350, Light trucks (4x4)	\$430	\$510
Lincoln, Mark VI, Versailles	\$320	\$390

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MERIT smokers rate low tar MERIT satisfying
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Proof: The overwhelming majority of MERIT smokers
polled felt they didn't sacrifice taste
in switching from high tar cigarettes.

Proof: 96% of MERIT smokers
don't miss former high tar brands.

Proof: 9 out of 10 enjoy smoking as
much since switching to MERIT, are
glad they switched, and report MERIT
is the best tasting low tar they've
ever tried.

Smokers find the taste of
low tar MERIT matches that
of high tar cigarettes.

New taste-test results prove it.

© Philip Morris Inc. 1979



Proof: A significant majority of smokers rated
MERIT taste as good as—or better than—leading
high tar brands. Even cigarettes having twice the tar!

Proof: Of the 95% stating a pref-
erence when tar levels were revealed,
3 out of 4 smokers chose the MERIT
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high tar leaders.

You've read the results. The
conclusion is clearer than ever:
MERIT delivers a winning com-
bination of taste and low tar.

A combination that seems to be
attracting more and more smokers
every day and—more importantly—
satisfying them long term.

MERIT

Kings & 100's

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Kings: 8 mg "tar," 0.6 mg nicotine—
100's: 11 mg "tar," 0.7 mg nicotine
av. per cigarette, FTC Report May '78

Instant family



Photo: Robert G. Smith/Photo Disc

OFFICIAL INSTANT CAMERA FOR THE 1990 OLYMPIC WINTER GAMES

tree.



Have a merrier Christmas with a Kodak instant camera.

This year, deck the tree with Uncle Harry, Aunt Louise, Cousin Dennis, and all the people who make Christmas a very special time of year. We've got five ways to do it.

Like the Colorburst 250 instant camera.

It's the world's only instant camera with a built-in flash and nothing to focus. Just aim and shoot. The flash lets you stop the action indoors, or you can use it outdoors to fill in the shadows on close-up shots.

The Handle2™ instant camera is not only a snap to use, because there's nothing to focus, but it's also our least expensive model.

The Colorburst 50 instant camera is our least expensive motorized camera with nothing to focus.

The Colorburst 100 instant camera is motorized and has a zooming circle for more accurate focusing.

The Colorburst 300 instant camera has a convenient built-in flash, a zooming circle, and, like all our Colorburst cameras, a motor that delivers the picture.

So this year, celebrate Christmas with your own instant family tree. It's easy to do; just tape an ornament hanger onto the back of the print and you're all set for an instant Merry Christmas.

The more you take, the more you give.



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"Open me first"
to save Christmas
in pictures.

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Letters

Another Kennedy

To the Editors:

Just the mention of another Kennedy [Nov. 5] White House gives me a surge of hope and a sense of patriotism. Call it the Kennedy mystique or charisma, but I choose to call it that intangible quality, leadership, and a feeling of well-being that the citizens of this country have not had since 1963.

Perhaps Ted Kennedy won't solve all of America's problems, but he will make them appear more bearable.

Roger D. Spickler
South Bend, Ind.



Aw, gee whiz! Why don't we save ourselves a year of tiresome rhetoric and a lot of money too, and anoint by acclamation another of the Royal Family Kennedy as King—or, President? With Camelot II and its fun and games established in the White House we will see how well charisma can run this country. While standing in awe of the new White House occupants, we will forget our troubles of inflation, unemployment, energy shortage and high medical costs.

Charles E. Thompson
Seneca, S.C.

I think many people would vote for Edward Kennedy solely because he is the brother of a President. Billy Carter has the same qualification.

H. Gordon Havens
Kansas City, Mo.

Ted may be ready to run for President now, but I'm not ready to vote for him.

Donna S. Bailey
Windsor Locks, Conn.

How difficult it will be for anyone, Democrat or Republican, to campaign against Ted Kennedy! It just wouldn't be sporting to mention honor, courage, truth, fidelity, economy-mindedness, cover-up, character, cheating, special privileges, confusion, irrationality or even such or-

dinary phrases as "crossing that bridge when we come to it" or "troubled waters." The list seems endless.

Rita Craig
Longboat Key, Fla.

I feel a man should be judged by what kind of man he is on a daily basis, not by his darkest moment.

Frederick Cleveland
Milford, Mich.

Vegetarians' Beef

Some have said that Americans are becoming enlightened about nutrition. Then there appears an Essay [Nov. 5] like "How to Beat the Beef Against Meat."

Contrary to what Mr. Leo implies, not all vegetarians are young people following a fad. There are millions of vegetarians in this country, people of all ages and walks of life who have decided to abstain from meat for health, ecological and/or ethical reasons.

Julianna Bickus
Normal, Ill.

I admit it! I'm a practicing vegetarian. By the age of two, I was exceptionally adept at avoiding the meat my parents continually poked in my direction. Receiving protein in the form of mangled flesh and sizzled blood vessels has never been my idea of nutrition. As to the argument of "faunism," I have yet to dissect a plant and discover a brain.

Carla G. Quick
Salem, Ill.

I am one of those "uppity, blood-thirsty, macho, white males" who happen to love meat. I admit that occasionally I get a feeling of guilt mixed with nausea. But then my good sense returns, and I enjoy my meal of medium rare, juicy animal protein source.

Mark C. Birdsell
McLean, Va.

I did not, in *Animal Liberation*, deny that a human may be more worthy of respect than a zebra or mosquito. What I condemn as "speciesism" is the attitude that the interests of animals of other species are less important than similar interests of humans. Humans have many interests that zebras and mosquitoes don't—their careers, the pursuit of knowledge, artistic interests—and these may entitle them to extra respect. But these interests cannot justify forcing animals to lead miserable lives in today's factory farms just because we like the taste of their flesh.

Peter Slinger
Washington, D.C.

Aggressive Christians

Your article about the Freedom Festival of the Christian-Patriots Defense League in Louisville, Ill. [Nov. 5], is interesting, but scary. It is ironic that peo-

ple who profess to be aggressive, patriotic Christians are giving lessons in how to blow away their fellow man.

Jane Rolon
Bloomfield, Conn.

If anything brings the world down it will be those redneck conservatives who feel they have a monopoly on the truth. Fanatics, like the ones described in the article, scare me more than a "Commie takeover."

Daniel Clay Russ
Atlanta

Your feature on the Freedom Festival angers me—not because you ran the article, but because such groups as the Christian-Patriots Defense League exist at all and have the gall to use the name Christian. This league can only be Christian if Christ said, "Shoot those who hate you and tip over the desks of those who spitefully use you." I think they must know quite a bit more about their rifles than their Bibles.

(The Rev.) Cal Stevens
Greeley, Colo.

I resent the whole tone of the article "In Illinois: Festival of the Fed-Up." The people who went are frightened and are trying to help themselves and their families. I feel that many of them are making one very big mistake though. Jesus came to tell us we are all beloved of God.

Ann Bogen Jacobs
Exton, Pa.

Being the product of a "mixed marriage," I caught John Harrell's comment that mixing races has caused half of the world's problems. Harrell and the members of his Christian-Patriots Defense League probably believe they represent the core of the American spirit, but they actually epitomize some of the worst features of Americans: bigotry, narrow-mindedness, paranoia and irrational fanaticism.

Karla Werninghaus
Philadelphia

Sinful Profits?

How nice that House Speaker Tip O'Neill thinks it "sinful" that the oil companies are making profits [Nov. 5]. At least they are doing something to help keep this country running. Can Congress say the same?

James Brescoll
Lisle, Ill.

As one who has no direct interest in oil companies, I think it would be fair to say that if prices had been allowed to rise gradually for the past seven years, these "sinful" and "pornographic" profits would have been acceptable. Also, small cars would have been in demand sooner, energy conservation materials would not be suddenly scarce, other forms of energy

Letters

would be more advanced, oil exploration would be up, and oil imports would not have reached the current high levels.

Hank Page
Kilgore, Texas

A Loan for Chrysler

The oil companies have made tremendous profits [Nov. 5]. Chrysler Corp. has sustained enormous losses. Chrysler produces vehicles that consume petroleum. Wouldn't it be logical for the automaker to ask the oil companies for a loan?

Lloyd Clark
Phoenix

Imagine the possibilities had the Government given Chrysler \$10 billion to produce a vehicle that runs on alternative fuels or solar power. Instead, it gives \$1.5 billion for an obsolete product.

Steven H. Mosenson
New York City

Uncle, can you spare a billion?

John M. Williamson
Reedley, Calif.

Crime and Punishment

You were making fun of Islamic justice in the story about the flogging of prisoners in Pakistan [Nov. 5]. You call the

floggings brutal, but they provide a lesson the guilty one will remember for the rest of his life. Each stroke also reminds the person who watches that there is law and punishment. I think that is better than letting a criminal out on bail to rape, mug and murder.

Tanveer Hussain
New York City

Islam is a complete guide for the whole life of a person. I cannot understand why everyone has to start by writing about its punishments instead of how it nurtures social well-being. Flogging a human being in the presence of 10,000 people is sickening and inhumane. More sickening, however, is the way your reporter covered it.

Ghazanfar A. Sheikh
McKenzie, Tenn.

Snakes vs. Bureaucrats

Congratulations to Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus, the perfect bureaucrat, for completely ignoring the purpose of his office. He fired a man who expressed what Andrus himself should have said about the eating of an endangered type of rattlesnake [Oct. 29] just because he used the wrong sheet of paper.

Andrew Durny
Nulato, Ark.

Isn't it the job of the Interior Department to protect animals? Wasn't it Herpetologist Kenneth Dodd's job to warn the restaurant that the snake was endangered? Bravo! At least someone seems to be doing his job.

David Dimston
Great Neck, N.Y.

Let Andrus eat crow or cake, not snake.

Dina Anderson
Reston, Va.

Princess and Prejudice

With one slip of the tongue, Princess Margaret [Oct. 29] has illuminated the source of a decades-old problem: British prejudice, inspired now by the vestiges of an imperialistic haughtiness, even though the problem virtually laps at their own shores.

Craig Savoy
New Canaan, Conn.

Little Princess Margaret Rose has grown into a thorny bush.

Terry O'Duffy
Rochester, Minn.

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ing here at our pilot Coal Gasification
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AGE MAY DIFFER DE-
PENDING ON WEATHER,
SPEED, AND TRIP LENGTH.
ACTUAL HWY. MILEAGE
WILL PROBABLY BE LESS
THAN SHOWN. FIGURES
ARE LOWER FOR CALIF AND
HIGH ALTITUDE CARS.

You don't have to be an expert in international economics to know that in most parts of the world gasoline is becoming more and more expensive. All you have to do is own an automobile.

We are therefore pleased to announce that our 1980 Honda Civic GL received an EPA rating of 36 estimated mpg, 49 highway mpg. That's a nine percent increase over the 1979 model.

Even without such excellent fuel economy, 1980 would be a landmark year for the Honda

Civic. For the first time since it was introduced, the Civic has been completely restyled.

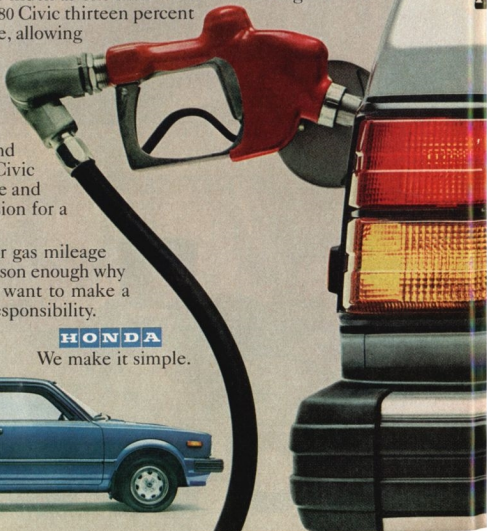
Without adding so much as one inch to the overall length of the car, we gave the 1980 Civic thirteen percent more interior space, allowing more legroom and shoulder room.

We gave it twenty percent more window area for better visibility. And we gave the new Civic a longer wheelbase and improved suspension for a smoother ride.

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HONDA

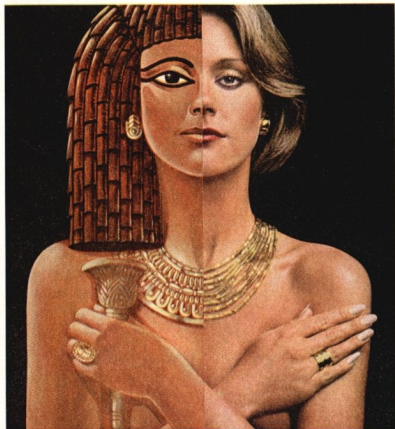
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MAN AND HIS GOLD, A SERIES

Gold on the body: the ancient urge that became a tradition.



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One would think that a behavior

so universal would have a universally accepted explanation, but this does not exist. The famous psychiatrists Freud and Jung disagreed. Others, too, have studied the phenomenon and the theories range from the almost incomprehensibly profound to the almost ludicrously superficial. More serious suppositions have included sexual enhancement, social or tribal status, an inner quest for immortality, self-deception, self-esteem, superstition, religion and, as in the case of Freud, a carnal hypothesis. What is generally agreed to at this point is only that gold's attraction is deeply psy-

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This advertisement is part of a series produced in the interest of a wider knowledge of man's most precious metal. For more information write to: The Gold Information Center, Department T99, P.O. Box 1269, FDR Station, New York, N.Y. 10022.

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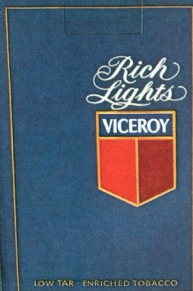
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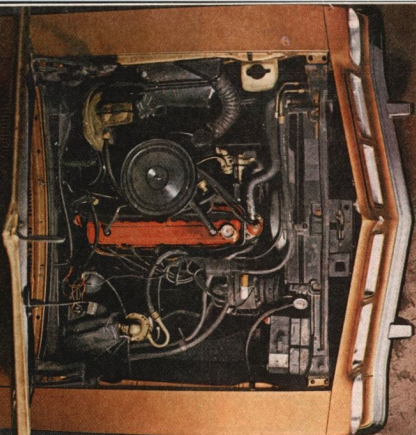
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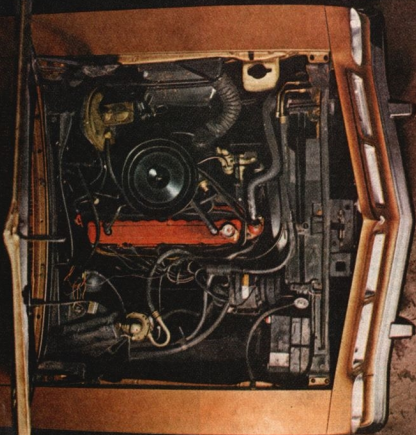
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To demonstrate how the average driver can save as much as 30% in gasoline money, the ARCO "Drive for Conservation" Caravans are travelling all over the country.

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We will continue to build a full line of cars to meet the varied needs of our customers. And we will continue to devote much of our research and engineering effort to finding new ways to make cars with greater carrying capacity more efficient. Customers with large families cannot be left without transportation.

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Less than a year ago, it did not appear that marketplace demand for smaller cars would allow us to meet fleet-mileage standards set by the government. Stocks of smaller cars—both foreign and American makes—were building up and demand for larger cars was strong. But the picture has changed.

Today we believe the marketplace is demanding cars which, based on a fleet average, will be even more fuel efficient than those required by government. We have always believed that the disciplines of the marketplace are far better than government mandates in achieving fuel economy. It is what

the customer wants to buy—and not government rules—that will determine fleet-average fuel efficiency.

And the marketplace is an unforgiving taskmaster. Either we build the cars our customers demand, or someone else will. Just meeting government mileage standards for the 1980s won't be enough to keep us in business.

The message from the marketplace is clear. Our response will be equally clear: fuel efficiency. We'll use new electronics, new designs, new engines, new metals and combinations of metals, all the resources of General Motors, to deliver the gas mileage you want. And we'll deliver on demand. That's the way the marketplace works.

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General Motors

People building transportation to serve people

TIME/NOV. 26, 1979

COVER STORIES

Iran: The Test of Wills

Khomeini orders the release of a few hostages, but the crisis continues



"Faith of our fathers, living still," sang a weary, anxious, deeply troubled Jimmy Carter, "in spite of dungeon, fire and sword..." And when it came time for the choir to respond with the eloquent verses of Psalm 130, the

that the first apparent break in the conflict came. The Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Iran's *de facto* head of state, ordered the students to release the women and blacks, believed to number a dozen, who were being held hostage. "Islam grants to women a special status," explained Khomeini in announcing his decision, and blacks "have spent ages

himself later confirmed the scheme, adding that the trials would only be halted and the hostages let go if the U.S. returned the Shah. Warned a senior official of West Germany's foreign ministry when told of the threat: "With the turmoil and fanaticism in Iran, one has to be prepared even for the outrage of the hostages' execution, even though that would be international murder."

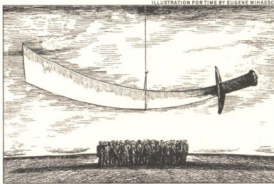
President sat, head bowed, in his front-row pew at the National Cathedral and listened intently to the ancient words of hope in a time of trouble: "Out of the depths have I cried to you, O Lord, hear my prayer."

The President had joined last week with about 2,000 others in an ecumenical prayer service for 62 American hostages held under threat of death at the captured U.S. embassy compound in Tehran. At his right sat Penny Laing, wife of L. Bruce Laing, the imprisoned chargé d'affaires in Tehran. On his left sat Vice President Walter Mondale and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, whose tireless efforts through a fortnight of nerve-racking negotiations had achieved as little as those of the President himself.

The service began with a military color guard presenting the flag, and it ended with *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*. "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord..."

For eight days the President had remained largely secluded in the White House, trying every weapon and maneuver he could imagine to resolve this most dangerous and infuriating crisis of his presidency. Most infuriating because the mightiest power on earth found itself engaged in a test of will with an unruly gang of Iranian students and an ailing zealot of 79. Most dangerous because a single miscalculation could lead to large-scale bloodshed and tear to shreds the tenuous balance of power in the Middle East.

It was not until last Saturday, after a week of retaliation and counterretaliation,



Embassy secretary flanked by Marine Sergeants at Sunday press conference

A small sign of progress, but one that left the basic situation totally unchanged.

under American pressure and tyranny."

But on Sunday, while the Iranians were still making preparations to release the first of the hostages, came a shocking announcement that promised only to worsen the crisis. Many of the remaining hostages, proclaimed a spokesman for the students, would now be tried for espionage in the Islamic Revolutionary Courts and "punished in accordance with the severity of their crimes." The Ayatollah

As for the promise to release some of the hostages, the Iranians dawdled through the weekend and by early Monday Iran time, nearly 40 hours after the first announcement, not a single American had been freed. Instead, the students staged a circus act in the embassy compound, trotting out three of the captives who were slated to be released for a "press conference" before some 200 American and other foreign correspondents. The three—two 23-year-old black Marines and a 22-year-old female secretary—were

seated at a table in front of three colored posters of the Ayatollah and slogans denouncing the exiled Shah of Iran and President Carter. **Read** one misspelled poster: CARTER IS SUPPORTING THIS NASTY CRIMINAL UNDER THE PROTECTION OF SICKNESS.

Though the promised release of some hostages was a signal that progress was possible, the basic situation was totally unchanged.

The Iranian students still held dozens of exhausted American hostages inside the U.S. embassy compound in Tehran. The Shah, whose temporary entry

into the U.S. for medical treatment had precipitated the assault, still lay hospitalized in New York, despite rumors that he might leave for Mexico at any moment. And in Washington, the options open to the President of the U.S. were still shockingly few, with the fate of the remaining hostages determining what actions could be risked.

In a series of dramatic but carefully limited moves, the President fought back



President Carter in a solemn moment during a prayer service at the National Cathedral for American hostages held in Tehran

DIANA H. WALKER

with economic reprisals. He ordered a stop to all purchases of Iranian oil, 700,000 bbl. per day, or 4% of U.S. consumption; he froze all Iranian government banking assets in the U.S. The Administration has not officially interrupted the flow of the nearly \$500 million worth of food the U.S. ships to Iran annually. But the International Longshoremen's Association instructed all its members not to load any vessels bound for Iran, and the giant American Farm Bureau Federation offered to support a total boycott on food exports. Some militant superpatriots talked of blockading the Iranian coast, but the Administration consistently ruled out that and all other military measures.

Yet when none of the U.S. retaliations brought any progress toward the release of the hostages, American anger and frustration became almost palpable.* New anti-Iranian demonstrations flared on campuses from coast to coast; three teen-agers threw a rock at the window of an Iranian in Denver, and he shot back, killing one of them. Eight Iranians, carrying rifles, telescopic sights and ammunition, were arrested at Baltimore-Washington International Airport as they

prepared to board a flight to New York. Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd, normally one of the mildest and most self-controlled of men, said he sympathized with the demonstrators, even the violent ones. "I'd feel like taking a punch at one [an Iranian] myself, if I could get to him," said Byrd. Added Carter: "Every American feels anger and outrage at what is happening." In an effort to cool tempers at home, Carter had previously asked the Immigration and Naturalization Service to press deportation proceedings against any Iranian students who were residing illegally in the U.S. Though the White House emphasized that the President had not ordered a "roundup and mass deportation," the action caused panic among many of the 50,000 Iranian students in the U.S. and thousands of other Iranians who have fled to the U.S. in recent years for political reasons.

In Iran itself, the crisis ebbed and flowed. Early in the week there was talk of compromises, and hints that some of the hostages might be released, but as the American determination became obvious in Iran, the crowds around the U.S. embassy grew larger and uglier. On Friday a throng swarmed through the poplars and cypress trees that dot the once idyllic compound. Among them for the first time were soldiers and airmen. "Death to the Shah!" the dem-

onstrators chanted. "Death to Carter!" The Ayatullah Yahya Nouri, one of the leaders of the revolution, gave a fiery speech outside the embassy gates calling for a "jihad [holy war] against the U.S." This might all be dismissed as rhetoric, but inside the compound remained the American hostages, haggard, some of them with their hands bound, totally vulnerable to the whims of their captors. One student gloated to TIME Correspondent Bruce van Voorst: "Our cup of hatred is filled to overflowing."

Ayatullah Khomeini was being no less emotional. "All Western governments are just thieves," he declared to his followers in the holy city of Qum, 80 miles from Tehran. "We should simply cut all ties to them. Nothing but evil comes from them." Then the Ayatullah mysteriously canceled all appointments for three weeks. He was reported to be sick.

Jimmy Carter was dismayed by the confusion. Just before his appearance at the National Cathedral, he had made his one major public address on the Iranian crisis, and he had sounded tough and assertive. "This is an act of terrorism totally outside the bounds of international law and diplomatic tradition," he declared to 900 delegates to the AFL-CIO convention. "This crisis calls for firmness and restraint. The U.S. will not yield to international terrorism or blackmail." The Tehran authorities were "fully responsi-

*One intrepid entrepreneur, Joe Conforte, who runs the Mustang Ranch, a legalized bordello outside Reno, took advantage of the uproar to post a sign at his gates saying: "No more Iranian students will be permitted on these premises until the hostages are released."



Two Iranians use an unusual means of hauling a load of trash away from the occupied U.S. embassy compound

ble" for the safety of the hostages, he said, and would be "held accountable."

But at a meeting the next day with 39 Governors, whom he had summoned to Washington to urge cuts of 5% in their states' fuel consumption, Carter was asked whether the situation remained a total stalemate. "I'm afraid so," he said. He described the huge crowds outside the described embassy as "in a highly emotional state." And he told the Governors: "We're trying to protect the honor of our country and the lives of the hostages." He

Crowd outside embassy compound in Tehran



urged the Governors to "caution all Americans" to restrain themselves toward Iranians in the U.S. Said Carter: "It would be a serious mistake for us to deprive them of their rights or their citizenship or our friendship." At week's end, looking drawn and fatigued, the President retired to Camp David.

The crisis had understandably driven Carter into virtual seclusion. Having earlier canceled a state visit to Ottawa, he last week dropped a political foray to Pennsylvania and another to Florida. "Iran has blown everything else off the map," said one aide. "That's all anyone here is thinking about."

The Government's days began early, long before dawn. The sun rose at 6:47 over Washington last Monday, so the city was still pitch-dark when Carter picked up his Oval Office phone at 5:15 to talk to National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski about the impending oil cut-off. Carter was determined to prevent the Iranians from thinking they could use their oil as a bargaining weapon, and he also wanted to reassure Americans that Washington could and would take action, that there was a difference between caution and paralysis. At the close of a week-end meeting on the possibility of cutting off Iranian oil, he had simply said: "I want it done."

But he was concerned about the reactions. All Monday morning, Administration aides broke the news to congressional leaders, OPEC governments, U.S. business executives and particularly the principal American oil companies affected by the decision (notably Amerasia Hess and Ashland). At 2 p.m. that day, the President walked before the television lights, a layer of pancake makeup barely disguising the fatigue, and declared: "No one should

underestimate the resolve of the American Government and the American people." Speaking as plainly and directly as a Georgia farmer, Carter outlined his decision in less than five minutes, then retired to the family quarters of the White House to await the reaction. It was quick and strongly favorable, an indication that the country had been waiting for just such a step. Said retiring AFL-CIO Chief George Meany, long a Carter critic: "He acted wisely and well."

Secretary of State Vance wanted to

Iranian soldiers shout support of takeover



make sure that the oil cutoff did not appear provocative to Tehran. Said he: "This should eliminate any thought that economic pressure affects our decisions. It is not provocative, but is an act of self-discipline on our part." The implication—and the hope—was that the U.S. would begin to cut back its imports and consumption of oil, though there may be no such reduction at all as long as Americans refuse to face up to the consequences of OPEC's tightening noose. The diplomatic benefits of the oil cutoff were more obvious. Said Energy Secretary Charles Duncan: "To the extent that the Iranians considered we were dependent on their oil, we want to tell them it is simply not true." Another Administration aide put it even more bluntly: "They thought it would be a useful card. Now they can't play it."

Two days later the next retaliatory step came. Carter had asked leading U.S. banks to be on the watch for any movements in Iranian government accounts. Treasury Secretary G. William Miller telephoned the President at 5:45 a.m. Wednesday to give him the ominous message that Iran was threatening to transfer billions of dollars worth of deposits from U.S. accounts to other nations, presumably in Western Europe. Carter had ready an Executive order blocking such transfers; the funds involved amounted to \$6 billion. Once again Carter aides took to the telephones, this time to advise U.S. bankers and several foreign governments, including Saudi Arabia, of the pending action and to assure them that the U.S. had no intention of freezing the assets of any other nation. At 8 a.m., just before a breakfast with Republican leaders, Carter formally signed the order. Again the President's action was praised. New York Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan said Carter was handling the crisis with "great competence, steadiness and assuredness."

The show of strength earned the President badly needed support even from his opponents. Senate Republican Leader Howard Baker offered Carter the "unwavering" backing of his colleagues. Congressional criticism and post-mortem investigations will be stormy once all the hostages have been freed, but for the moment the President's political enemies held their fire. Anxious to take some specific action of support, the House voted to cut off all military and economic aid to Iran, including \$20 million in U.S. funds allocated through the U.N. Development Program. The tally: 379 to 0.

A major difficulty for the Administration was that throughout the week various Iranian authorities kept changing the terms of the bargaining. On Tuesday Acting Foreign Minister Abol Hassan Banisadr sent a letter to U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim. The letter implied that the hostages could be released if the U.S. agreed to turn over the Shah's personal fortune to Iran and "at least accept the investigation of the guilt of the for-



Iran briefing book dominates Carter's desk as he works into the evening in the Oval Office
No one should underestimate the resolve of the American Government and people.

mer Shah and its consequences." The letter omitted any specific demand for the Shah's return. Some officials saw the beginnings of a compromise here, but Banisadr said later the new terms really meant "the return of the Shah."

On Thursday, when Banisadr first said the Iranians might release some hostages, the student leaders actually occupying the embassy property quickly asserted that they took orders only from the Ayatollah Khomeini, and that nobody was going to be released until the U.S. had sent the Shah back to Iran. Admitted one White House official: "We don't know with any certainty who these students are or who's in charge. That doubles the trouble."

At the State Department, Iran specialists were similarly uncertain about the degree of leftist and even Communist influence in the highly disorganized Khomeini regime. Was Khomeini really in charge or just presid-

ing over an internal power struggle? Did the fall of the government of Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan two weeks ago portend a new campaign by Iranian leftists to seize power for themselves? One puzzling element in the recent unrest was the sudden fall from favor of Ibrahim Yazdi, who had been one of Khomeini's closest courtiers during the Ayatollah's last days in exile in France. Partly because he had spent 16 years in the U.S. and had become a naturalized American citizen (a fact that he denied steadfastly during his seven months as Foreign Minister), the U.S. had hoped that Yazdi would prove useful in rebuilding Washington's ties with Tehran. Yazdi had secured the release of American diplomats during the earlier, and much briefer (two hours), embassy siege last Feb. 14. In September Carter and Vance had talked at the U.N. for four hours about military supplies for Iran and the future of U.S.-Iranian relations. Vance came away from that meeting thinking that the Bazargan govern-

Nation



Liberian freighter docked in Texas, while Longshoremen refuse to load Iran-bound cargo

ment was slowly acquiring more authority over the rabble-rousing mullahs who surround Khomeini. It was a mistaken conclusion.

The sudden fall of Bazargan and Yazdi evoked fears that both the more radical ayatullahs and the leftist secular forces were using the embassy assault as a pretext for pushing the country sharply to the left. The small but well-organized Tudeh (Communist) Party has been held in check by Khomeini, who denounces the Communists fervently, if redundantly, as "godless atheists." The prevailing view in Washington is that the extreme leftists will continue to ride the Khomeini whirlwind as they gain key positions in the ruling 15-man Revolutionary Council, and will eventually try to brush Khomeini aside in a final grab for power.

At this point, the principal bond that unites the different factions of the Iranian regime is an abiding hatred of the deposed Shah. The object of all that emotion was closely guarded in New York Hospital, where he was recuperating from his gall bladder surgery and undergoing a series of radiation treatments for lymphoma, a cancer of the lymph glands, from which he has been suffering for six years. For these treatments, he was taken at least three times through a heavily guarded underground passage to Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center. Some doctors said privately that the Shah could safely be moved within a few days, and that the treatment he needs could be administered in many places—in Mexico, Egypt or France, where he has been treated for his lymphoma in the past.

The way for his return to Mexico was presumably cleared when the Mexican government announced that as a precaution, it had temporarily closed its Tehran embassy and that the Shah was welcome to return to his exile in Cuernavaca. It had been presumed for days that having

the Shah leave the U.S. would be a useful first step in resolving the plight of the hostages. But typical of the unpredictability of events was an announcement by the students in the embassy late in the week, that the flight of the Shah to any third country could result in "harsher decisions being taken against the hostages."

In Tehran, the political situation deteriorated markedly as the week passed. The rumors about Khomeini's health started after a Thursday meeting in Qum. "I'm not feeling well," confessed the Ayatullah to his followers. He then launched into a feverish attack on the U.S. Said he: "The U.S. has grabbed our money just like thieves. We should not fall for their propaganda." An aide reported that Kho-

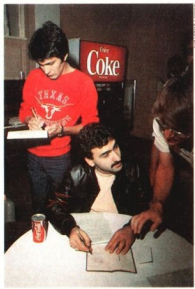
meini was suffering from a flu virus communicated to him by "various visitors who have come to Qum in that condition." Said one observer: "The Imam has never sounded this bad before."

Khomeini evidently insisted to his colleagues that they stand firm against the increasing American pressures. Hassan Habibi, the newly appointed spokesman for the Revolutionary Council, reaffirmed the government's position on the hostages: "We are not going to retreat in the face of U.S. imperialism. We are asking for the extradition of an international criminal, and the U.S. cannot long continue its aggressive reaction to our demand." He disclosed that Iran and Libya had agreed to re-establish diplomatic relations after a break of several years. The two countries had been especially at odds for the past year, following the disappearance and alleged assassination in Libya of the leader of Lebanon's Shi'ite community, Imam Moussa Sadr. The reconciliation was interpreted as a victory for the hard-line Muslim radicals in the Iranian leadership, who have been arguing for closer ties with Libya in spite of the Moussa Sadr affair.

Amid all its other difficulties, the government was also distracted by an earthquake that destroyed at least nine villages in northeastern Iran and killed several hundred people. (A far more serious tremor in the same region last year had killed 25,000.) Khomeini declared the situation a "national calamity" and appealed for "Islamic help" in providing doctors, medicine and food. The U.S., which has repeatedly provided such aid in the past, was not called upon.

The focal point of the conflict remained the occupied American embassy in Tehran. Inside the compound, 600 members of the "Muslim Students of the Imam Khomeini Line" split the hostages into two groups. Half were in the ambassador's residence, half in two yellow bungalows near by. The treatment of the hostages was believed to have improved somewhat, though some of the men still had their hands tied. The women were guarded by chador-clad girls clutching automatic rifles. Early in the week the captors released a taped message from one of the Marine prisoners, Kevin Hermening, complaining that he didn't like "being a pawn used in a game" and urging the President to place a higher priority on the lives of the hostages than on the Shah.

Outside the embassy was a far wilder scene as crowds of thousands gathered to shout their support. Above the embassy gate hung a portrait of Khomeini and a loudspeaker over which a voice intoned repeatedly, "God is great" and "There is but one God." At a midnight rally Thursday about 1,000 students, aligned with the leftist Islamic Mujahedin-e Khalq (People's Crusaders), tried to stage a demonstration but found themselves confronting



Iranians in U.S. work on immigration forms
The Senator wanted to take a punch.



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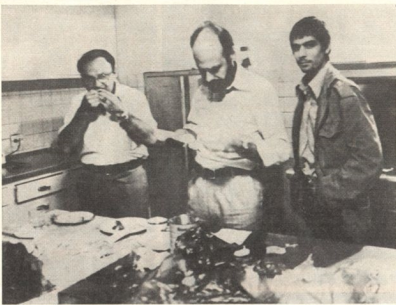
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Nation



American hostages in kitchen of U.S. embassy in Tehran, with Iranian (right) guarding them. The crowd outside represented a "third force," and it had to be reckoned with.

a group of right-wing Islamic extremists. Moderates crying "Allahu akbar!" (God is great) quickly moved in to act as a buffer between the two groups.

One day, three British members of an NBC television crew were arrested near the embassy, but were quickly released. On another occasion, a deeply distraught American woman, apparently the relative of a hostage, appeared at the gates with a child in hand. She suddenly began to shout obscenities at the guards. In an instant the mob started to surge toward her, but photographers provided a distraction, and in the confusion she was quickly led away. Behind her, the crowd kept murmuring, "Kill her, kill her." Said a Western diplomat: "The crowd now represents a 'third force,' and it has to be reckoned with. If either Khomeini or the students were to try to negotiate, I wouldn't rule out a mass attack by this mob."

Every day after noon prayers, the students and the crowd went through a curious ritual that often ended in mass hysteria. The students came to the embassy gates to exchange political slogans with the people outside. They threw carnations and tulips, an Iranian symbol of martyrdom, back and forth through the gates. Said one worried Iranian bystander: "I think there is a national death wish emerging."

Such scenes reinforced the U.S. concern that the Iranian government and even Khomeini himself were being swept along by events. But from the Ayatullah's point of view, there was ample reason to welcome some political diversion. He has fared poorly in bringing the Iranian economy back to prerevolutionary levels. Industry is estimated to be operating at only 40% of capacity. With workers' councils

sitting in on managerial decisions, many managers are afraid to make decisions on anything but issuing paychecks. Chaos prevails at the docks and at highway customs posts along the main truck route from Europe. Inflation is running at 40%, unemployment at 25%. In Tehran the situation is further aggravated by the migration since the revolution of perhaps 1.5 million people to the city, bringing the population up to as many as 5 million.

The streets are still packed with automobiles, however, and Tehran still has the worst smog east of Los Angeles. The privileged few, if there are any left, can buy vodka for \$20 a bottle and on Fridays can place their wagers at the Fara-habad race track. But the citizenry in general are visibly angry. Last week unemployed workers seized the Labor Ministry and held it for 24 hours. "They're bitter," said a ministry official afterward. "And they'll be back."

One thing that should sustain Jimmy Carter during his current ordeal is the knowledge that, for the first time in his presidency, and indeed within recent memory, the U.S. enjoyed at least modest support from practically the entire world. Two weeks ago, members of the U.N. Security Council had voted unanimously to express their "profound concern" over Iran's detention of American diplomats, and last week the Council rejected a request by Iran to turn the matter into a sort of star-chamber proceeding on the fate of the deposed Shah. Even the Soviet leadership, perhaps because it remembers so clearly the attack on its embassy in Peking during the Cultural Revolution, was providing a degree of backing. After a State Department

complaint about Soviet anti-American broadcasts being beamed to Iran, the Soviets curtailed them, and Tass referred, a bit obliquely, to "the true position of the Soviet Union with regard to ... observing the norms and principles of international law." In the most pointed comment of all, the Soviet Ambassador to the U.S., Anatoli Dobrynin, told Secretary Vance: "Where hostages are concerned, politics should stop."

In the Middle East, only Libyan Strongman Muammar Gaddafi came out in support of Iran in the present controversy. At last week's Arab summit meeting in Tunis, Libya further proposed that the other Arab oil producers join in imposing sanctions against the U.S.; the idea was unanimously rejected. Even the Palestine Liberation Organization, though it has close ties to the Iranian leadership, made an effort to act as a mediator, an initiative that ended in failure last week. (Another would-be negotiator, Carter's Special Emissary Ramsey Clark, the former U.S. Attorney General, gave up after Khomeini announced he would not see the President's representative.)

Carter's strongest support in the region came from Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, who had also offered refuge to the Shah two weeks ago. By his invitation, Middle East experts believe, Sadat was telling the Saudis that he remains responsive to their fears about the rise of radicalism. He was also reminding them that he does not snub old friends when they need help. Sadat feels that the Sunni Muslims need a defender against Iran's assertive Shi'ites, and he would like to fill the role himself. The Saudis quickly assured Sadat through third parties that they will continue to ship their oil through the Suez Canal and will not withdraw the \$2 billion that they and the Kuwaitis have on deposit in the Central Bank of Egypt. Sadat spoke for most of the moderate Arabs when he observed at week's end: "The situation in Iran is deteriorating badly and presents an extremely grave threat to the Arab gulf states."

Though the Western European nations were all favoring Carter in the current crisis—the London *Daily Telegraph* even denounced Khomeini as "a stupid, vindictive old man"—their official support seemed tepid. Asked New York *Times* Columnist James Reston: "Where are the allies?" Where, he wondered, are the Europeans who always yearned for "collective security"? European diplomats retorted that they had backed the U.S. as well as they could and that West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, in particular, had strongly supported Carter. Schmidt told colleagues: "The West must show unity. We must back the U.S." If the Europeans were restrained, it was probably because 1) it was a time for "cool professionalism," as an American diplomat put it; 2) the U.S. had not asked for or expected stronger public support,

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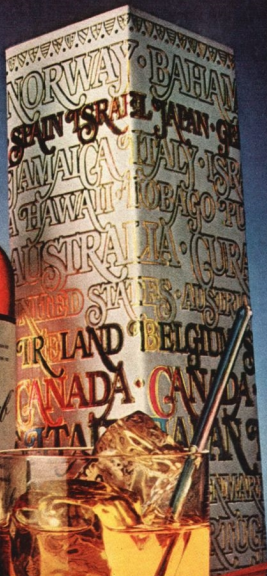
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and 3) Iran supplies 9% of West Germany's oil imports and 20% of Britain's.

President Carter was awakened at 5:35 Saturday morning with the news from Tehran that Khomeini had called for the release of a few of the hostages. But then followed a delay. On Sunday night, the students summoned foreign newsmen to a press conference with the first three of the hostages scheduled to be freed.

The three introduced themselves as Sgt. Ladell Maples, 23, of Earle, Ark., and Sgt. William Quarles, 23, of Washington, D.C., both black Marines, and Kathy Gross, 22, of Cambridge Springs, Pa., a secretary to the embassy's Economic and Commercial Counsellor. For over two hours, they answered questions. "We were treated very good," said Gross. "We've been fed more than was adequate. We've slept nights." Later, however, she mentioned that for the first 16 hours of her captivity, she had been forced to sit in a chair with her hands tied to the armrests. It was also revealed that the hostages were not permitted to talk with one another or read newspapers. Said Maples: "We didn't know what was going on."

Why these particular three were chosen for early release was not revealed. "I have learned a lot about the other side here," Quarles told reporters. "The people of the United States should turn around and look at things differently for a change." All three, however, did show a certain sensitivity to being the first freed. "I had no choice," said Quarles. "I would have liked to stay with them, but there's nothing I can do about it."

Meanwhile, back in the U.S., the days of waiting were having an effect on the families of those still held in Tehran. Some wives all but charged the State Department with criminal negligence for having failed to protect its staff once the Shah had been admitted to the U.S. "I am so bitter I could scream," said Louisa Kennedy, wife of Hostage Mike Kennedy. She has been manning telephones in the State Department Operations Center, talking to families of other hostages.

Totally at the root of the present dispute between the U.S. and Iran is the deposed Shah. Though Americans themselves are divided on their views toward the Shah, few perceive him as an "Iranian Hitler," as Iranian revolutionaries now call him, charging that his forces slaughtered 10,000 Iranian civilians in the months before the monarchy collapsed. Even fewer Americans would be prepared to allow the Shah to be returned to Iran involuntarily to face the Ayatullah's revolutionary justice.

The question of the Shah's character and what his monarchy brought to Iran can never be resolved to the satisfaction of all parties. But many diplomats throughout the world would agree that, as a starting point in settling the current crisis, it would be fortunate if the Shah should proceed to Mexico or some other

A Mullah's View: "No Deal, Sir"

Mohammed Javad Bahonar, 46, an Islamic scholar who has been a leading figure on Iran's 15-man Revolutionary Council for the past year, sat with his legs crossed on the floor of his small apartment in Tehran and offered a partisan assessment of the current crisis. His fervent arguments illustrate the gulf between the Iranian version of the conflict and the view of it held by the outside world. As he talked with TIME's Bruce van Voorst, Bahonar fingered his horn-rimmed glasses like modern worry beads:

Q. Isn't the reaction in Iran to the Shah's presence in the U.S. out of all proportion to reality?

A. The United States insulted the Iranian national honor and the Islamic revolution by giving the deposed Shah a visa. The ex-dictator represents all the pain, torture, humiliation, deprivation and repression suffered for decades by our nation. And just at a time when Iranians believed Washington at least tacitly recognized this fact, the ex-tyrant triumphantly enters New York—a malicious, outrageous, insupportable insult to all the blood that was spilled for the cause of liberation.

By gross miscalculation or cynical design, you trigger a new revolution, and then you hide behind your customary leg nipping. You activated the volcano and now you expect us to help you out. We can't, unless you put right the insulting mistake you have made.



Iran Revolutionary Bahonar

Q. But why all this emphasis on sending back to Iran for trial a dying old man who has tubes draining out his insides?

A. The people want the ex-Shah publicly tried because they want to prove to the whole world once and for all what a heinous criminal he was. It is the principle, not the man, that matters.

For you it is easy to say that the Iranians need a scapegoat and the regime wants to muster patriotic support. You are wrong through and through. What this nation has suffered at the hands of the Shah is no less serious than what the Jews suffered at the hands of the Nazis.

Then, when our turn comes, your measuring stick suddenly shrinks. Last year at this time, with weapons supplied by you and under the supervision of your military advisers, hundreds of innocent women, children and men were being mowed down every day. Now, you expect us not only to give up our quest for justice but even sacrifice our honor. No deal, sir.

Q. But are you prepared to violate international law to achieve your objectives?

A. Your insistence on the legalistic aspects of the embassy siege is specious. The Revolutionary Council did not do it. You deserve the credit for unleashing this rebellion. Don't talk to me about whether the siege is right or wrong. Talk to the very people you have provoked into this hysteria. You think you can get away with murder by hiding behind the law. The Islamic canon recognizes the right of an oppressed people, faced by a government that cites the law in order to betray justice, to rebellion. The Iranian people's occupation of the U.S. embassy falls squarely within this principle.

Q. It is likely that the President could not extradite the Shah if he wanted to.

A. The Shah has broken the law of the U.S. as well. In broad daylight he had Iranian students followed and even killed in the U.S. and Europe. He threatened them, took away their money and passports, arranged to have them kicked out of universities and did everything, often with success, to deprive them of the protection of U.S. law. Can the Americans afford not to look into this?

An Ideology of Martyrdom

"Allahu akbar! Allahu akbar!" The Arabic pronouncement that "God is great" sustained the Iranian revolutionaries as they marched through the streets of Tehran in demonstrations against the Shah. The invocation was heard again as students attacked the U.S. embassy, and as mobs last week marched about the captured compound, demanding death for the hostages.

To what extent was the student action—and the Ayatullah Khomeini's endorsement of it—in accordance with Islamic law? Experts differ. Zaki Badawi, Egyptian director of the Islamic Cultural Center in London, argues that "the demand for the return of the Shah to face trial in Iran is in agreement with Muslim law." Islam holds that "no one is above the law and law is supreme. If a crime is committed by a ruler, an emperor, he is as liable to punishment for it as the meanest and commonest of his subjects." As a precedent, one Cairo expert notes that in 1964 the late King Saud of Saudi Arabia was tried, deposed and banished by an Islamic court for conduct unbecoming a Muslim ruler—namely, drinking, gambling and womanizing.

Islamic scholars are virtually unanimous in condemning the seizure of the hostages as contrary to the *Shari'a* (Islamic canon law). Says Badawi: "There is no basis in Islam for this. Islam does not justify the taking of hostages, and it also clearly states that one person cannot be punished for the crimes of another." Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, a devout Muslim, has denounced Khomeini as a "lunatic" and forthrightly condemned the seizure of the hostages. "This is not Islam," he said. "Islam teaches love, tolerance and mercy." One of the ranking experts on Islamic law, at Cairo's ancient Al Azhar University, charges that the Ayatullah's "evil hunger for the death of a sick man is a towering crime under Islamic law." Islam "considers any sick or dying person with extreme humility," he says. Rouhollah Ramanzani, an Iranian scholar teaching at the University of Virginia, points out that according to the Islamic code, "if an undesirable individual enters into the Muslim domain, then that person must be protected and escorted to the boundaries of that domain to let him out safely."

Most authorities doubted that the students would physically harm the hostages, or that Khomeini would tolerate their torture or death. Says Thomas Ricks, an Iranian expert at Georgetown University: "Nothing in Islam could justify the slaughter of the hostages, and it is unthinkable that the captors would do so, unless they were threatened by an outside attack." Professor Hamid Algar of the University of California at Berkeley notes that the *Shari'a* permits both the exchange of hostages and their unilateral release by captors. He also observes, however, that "one tradition is that hostages may be kept permanently."

Islamic authorities point out that the vast majority of Iranians are Shi'ite Muslims, who have what one student in Tehran describes as an "ideology of martyrdom and expectation." Says Berkeley's Algar: "The Shi'ites are given to martyrdom—to defy the whole world. In the Shi'ite mind there is no compromise." Far more than in the dominant Sunni branch, the tenets of Islam are and are used by Shi'ites to obtain political objectives. This is particularly true in Iran, where the ayatullahs and mullahs have a long tradition of calling on the faith as a weapon against secular rulers in Tehran or unwanted foreign influences. Says Jean Calmard, a French expert on Shi'ism: "Once again the religious leaders are adapting Islamic rules to serve political ends." Sadat puts it more strongly: "I feel both angry and sad at what Khomeini is doing in Iran, because he is in flagrant violation of all Islamic principle. He is using Islam to exploit himself. He hides behind the students. He takes advantage of them and he deceives them into committing crimes for which there is no justification in Islam."



Political wall poster from Tehran

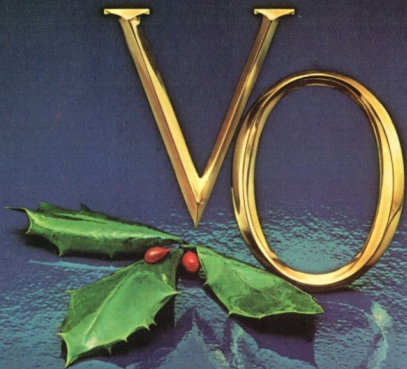
third country to continue his treatment and recuperation. Alternatively, suggests one prominent American expert on the Middle East, the Shah could help by renouncing, once and for all, his family's claim to the Peacock Throne. This expert believes the Shah might well be willing to make such a sacrifice as the price of staying in the U.S.

If the embassy crisis can be resolved and the hostages are uninjured, it is still possible that the U.S. and Iran could restore limited relations. The present Iranian government wants to sell the 77 U.S.-built F-14 jet fighters that the Shah bought for his air force. Contractual restrictions would prevent Iran from selling the planes to the Soviet Union, but it is likely that Iran could find a customer acceptable to the U.S. One possibility: Saudi Arabia. The sale of military spare parts could begin again. The U.S. still sells wheat and rice to Iran, and in time the sale of Iranian oil to the U.S. might be also resumed.

If the crisis ends badly and any of the hostages are harmed, however, the U.S. will face a far more serious problem. Though the Administration has ruled out military intervention during the current impasse (there were naval exercises in the Persian Gulf last week, however), it might change its mind in the event of American casualties at the embassy. The Pentagon has advised that air raids, launched from carriers, could put the Iranian oilfields out of action for six months with a minimum of civilian injuries, but there has been no suggestion from any quarter that this would be a good course to follow. The resulting oil shortage would hurt U.S. allies more than it would hurt Iran—and would drive world oil prices through the roof. Another possibility would be a Government embargo on all trade with Iran, including food, but Carter would use the food weapon only as a last resort. Summarizing the planning difficulties, an Administration official noted last week: "The difference between minimum and maximum punishment is not all that great. This is very tough to calibrate."

What worries many governments at the moment, apart from the impasse at the American embassy, is that Iran appears to be slipping ever closer to chaos. Using Khomeini as a cover, extremists of the left are trying to reinforce their position, thereby setting the scene for possible civil war. The Ayatullah Khomeini, old and ailing, does not understand modern statecraft, diplomacy or administration. Jimmy Carter does not know how to deal with him; neither does anybody else. Says a European diplomat: "What can you do when faced with a mad geriatric case?" Yet this remarkable old man, and he alone, seems to possess the power to preserve his volatile country from total anarchy—and to free the rest of the American hostages in Tehran. ■

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Who Will Get Blamed for What?

The future controversy on past policy toward Tehran



Even as President Carter struggled to resolve the Iranian crisis, his defenders and critics last week began what almost surely will become a protracted controversy over the events that led to the take-

over of the embassy in Tehran—and what the U.S. might have done, if anything, to prevent it. Some experts on Iran in the academic world believe the first mistake of the Carter Administration was failing to understand the basic nature of the movement that swept the Ayatollah Khomeini into power. Following the policies of preceding administrations, Carter originally supported the Shah, seeing him as a stabilizing ally in the Persian Gulf region, and not realizing how widely he was hated by his subjects. Carter first thought the Shah could suppress the mounting demonstrations, then, when events got totally out of hand, abandoned him to his fate. The Shah has told friends, bitterly, that right to the end he expected more assistance from the U.S. Says Richard Falk, professor of international law and practice at Princeton University: "We really didn't appreciate what was happening in Iran, and we didn't appreciate the degree to which Iranians regarded the Shah as our contribution to their suffering."

Once the Ayatollah had come into power, the Carter Administration adopted what it felt was a moderate and cooperative course of action toward the new regime, maintaining food sales and supplying spare parts for military equipment. There are those who fault this policy not only with the traditionalist argument that we were kowtowing to rebels, but also on the ground that we were again misunderstanding Iranian society. Says Sepehr Zabith, a research associate at the Institute of International Studies at the University of California at Berkeley: "Each of the measures of accommodation that the U.S. took was viewed in Iran as a sign of weakness and of desperation. They served to embolden Khomeini, and the net result was that Khomeini was reinforced in his belief that he could impose his terms on the U.S."

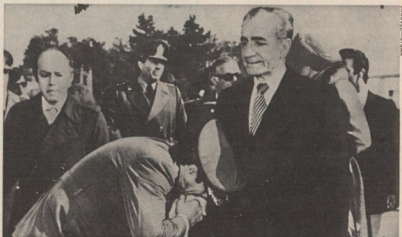
That seems too stern a view, however. After years of more or less ignoring the oppressions of the Shah, the U.S. had good reasons—including the familiar strategic and economic ones—to develop friendly relations with the new Iranian regime:

Perhaps the trickiest question about U.S. policy is whether or not the Administration should have allowed the Shah to come to New York, the act that brought about the seizure of the American embassy. This was a serious Carter mistake,

believes Richard Bulliet, a member of Columbia University's Middle East Institute, who thinks the decision reinforced Iranians' fears that the U.S. planned to restore the Shah to power, as it did in 1953. Says he: "Those currently running Iran could only interpret the decision as hostile. The admission of the Shah to this country sort of confirms the notion that somehow, in the backs of the minds of people in influential places, there is the idea that the revolution is temporary, that nonreligious types are going to emerge, and that the Shah is an old friend and we should treat him well. This is very offensive to the revolutionary government be-

tainty just where the Shah's particular type of cancer could be treated, or whether the superb facilities at New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center and the Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research are really the best in the world for his particular needs. Even so, some U.S. doctors believe the Shah could have received perfectly satisfactory treatment elsewhere. Says one New York cancer specialist: "The Shah's French doctors could have handled the chemotherapy, or doctors from New York could have flown down to Mexico to administer the drugs to the Shah. Medically, it was certainly desirable to bring the Shah to the U.S. for treatment. Every doctor likes to treat patients in his home institution. But as to whether it was necessary to bring the Shah to the U.S., I strongly doubt it."

One factor is the kind of equipment being used to treat the Shah. The tumor



A fond farewell at the historic moment of the Shah's flight into exile last January

Misunderstandings of the forces that shaped a revolution.

cause it looks as if we were conspiring to put the Shah back on the throne."

At heart, this argument that the Administration should not have admitted the Shah rests on a cold assessment of U.S. geopolitical needs: it was not worth the price. The opposite argument rests on two different grounds. The first is purely humanitarian. Turning the Shah away would have gone against the American conscience and American history. Dean Rusk, Lyndon Johnson's Secretary of State, makes the same point in broader terms: "When it became clear that the Shah needed serious medical treatment of higher quality, it would have been contrary to world history and tradition not to let him come here." Says a top Administration official: "There was no reasonable alternative. The man was and is very ill."

Yet there were other alternatives. Judging this matter depends partly on a precise medical diagnosis, and the Shah's doctors have not released enough data to allow other physicians to say with cer-

in his neck has been bombarded at least three times by radiation generated by a linear accelerator, an expensive and highly sophisticated device, but one that by no means is a monopoly of U.S. medicine. In fact, linear accelerators are available in Mexico.

Regardless of whether the Shah could have received equally good medical treatment outside the U.S., the case for admitting him has a strong diplomatic as well as humanitarian basis. Not only is the U.S. entirely within its legal and moral rights in granting entry to any ailing exile, but its refusal to do so would be widely regarded as an embarrassing abdication of its sovereign power.

The State Department ultimately split on this issue. Its Iran experts—buttressed by warnings from embassy officers in Tehran—firmly argued that the U.S. should not grant the Shah a visa because of the threat to American interests and personnel in Iran. But Secretary of State Vance decided that the U.S. should take in the Shah for humani-

Nation

"The Old Rules Don't Apply"

Embattled diplomats and fleeing rulers of the past

tarian reasons. The President agreed.

Should the Administration have anticipated Iran's violent reaction to admitting the Shah? With the clarity of hindsight, there is agreement among many experts on this point: a resounding yes. A good deal can be said in Carter's defense, however. Three times the Bazargan government assured the Administration that it could protect the embassy against attack. One of the assurances came after the Shah was admitted to the U.S. and the demonstrators started shouting in Tehran's streets. There was an encouraging precedent. Last February when anti-American protesters seized the embassy, Iran's government moved quickly and efficiently to bring them under control. But the U.S. should have been more aware of how frail the Bazargan government was. The Administration was simply too optimistic, and it did not have sound enough intelligence information.

If the trouble had been correctly anticipated, the U.S. might have closed its embassy. But the Administration reasoned that the risk of maintaining its embassy was worth it. The situation seemed to be in flux, and the Administration felt a U.S. presence in Tehran would act as a moderating force. Besides, the U.S. cannot simply close down its embassies whenever it anticipates trouble.

Once the Administration decided to stay in Iran, it made little sense to try moving the embassy to more defensible quarters. As Carter said last week: "An embassy is not a fortress. There are no embassies anywhere in the world that can long withstand the attack of a mob, if the mob has the support of the host government itself." The U.S. had already greatly reduced the number of personnel affiliated with the embassy, from about 1,500 during the Shah's reign to 73. Fewer staffers would not have been able to maintain normal relations in a country where there were still some 500 Americans and substantial business interests. What was more, the Administration reasoned, reducing personnel to a handful would hardly help. Their capture would be equally outrageous.

The Administration's emergency plans certainly can be criticized on one point: with the demonstrators roaming outside the walls, U.S. personnel should have been able to destroy all documents. The Marine guards held off the mob long enough to enable officials to shred important classified files and smash encoding equipment. No serious security breach is believed to have occurred. But embarrassing documents did fall into the hands of the invaders, and they have been successfully used to inflame mobs in Iran.

In sum, the Administration can be criticized for failing to anticipate the extent of the trouble that would arise, but its actions since the fall of the Shah seem generally to have been prudent and reasonable.

No matter what the Iranians say, there is ample historical precedent for the U.S. to give sanctuary to the Shah, even on a temporary basis. Largely because of the vagaries of extradition treaties, which vary from country to country,* even the most hated of deposed rulers has usually managed to find a safe haven somewhere in the world. Egypt's decadent King Farouk luxuriated in Italy after his deposition by the army



Alexander Kerensky

in 1952. Argentina's Dictator Juan Perón was a resident of Spain between 1960 and 1973, when he returned home to reclaim power. Uganda's murderous Idi Amin is rumored to be in Libya, while his peer as butcher, ex-Emperor Bokassa I of the Central African Republic, lives in the Ivory Coast.

When he entered a Manhattan hospital for medical treatment last month, the Shah joined a large contingent of former heads of state—some honorable, some not—who have sought refuge in the U.S. Alexander Kerensky, Prime Minister of a short-lived democracy in post-Czarist Russia, eventually found a home here after his ouster by the Soviets. So did Venezuelan President Rómulo Betancourt, South Korean Strongman Syngman Rhee, Cambodia's Marshal Lon Nol and Cuban Dictator Fulgencio Batista. South Viet Nam's former Premier Nguyen Cao Ky, a resident of California, will be eligible to apply for U.S. citizenship next spring.

There is also ample historical precedent, sadly enough, for the Iranian students' assault on the U.S. embassy in Tehran. Though the inviolability of the diplomatic envoy has been a principle practiced since the Middle Ages, embassies and representatives of governments have frequently been targets for protest. In 1829 a Persian mob—egged on by nationalist mullahs in the court of the Shah—stormed the Russian embassy in Tehran and massacred almost the entire staff. Xenophobia figured large in the 1900

Boxer Rebellion (so called because it was led by a group named the Righteous and Harmonious Fists), when rebels seeking to wipe out foreign influence in China

*No such treaty exists between Iran and the U.S.

laid siege to the diplomatic quarter in Peking. The Boxers held the quarter for eight weeks, until an international expedition of 19,000 troops captured the city and freed the thousands held hostage. That hostility to foreigners was



Lon Nol

echoed during the Cultural Revolution in 1967, when Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Red Guards burned the British mission, beat up British and Indian diplomats and attacked the fleeing families of Soviet diplomats as they boarded their plane. Mao tacitly approved the assaults. Indonesian officials also applauded the mobs that ransacked the British embassy in Djakarta in 1963.

In the past eleven years, four American ambassadors have been killed in the line of duty. In 1968 Ambassador to Guatemala John Gordon Mein was shot during a kidnapping attempt. Ambassador to the Sudan Cleo A. Noel Jr. was murdered in 1973, when members of the Palestinian Black September group seized the Saudi Arabian embassy in Khartoum and took six diplomats hostage. The terrorists



Anastasio Somoza

surrendered three days later, but not before killing Noel and two other hostages. In 1974, following the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, U.S. Ambassador to Cyprus Rodger Davies was shot to death during a Greek Cypriot attack on the American embassy in Nicosia. Earlier this year, Ambassador to Afghanistan Adolph Dubs was killed after being kidnapped in Kabul by right-wing Muslims.

Whatever their views of the U.S.-Iran dispute, diplomats everywhere agree that Khomeini's support of the assault is a dangerous precedent. "Under the tenets of diplomatic immunity," explains Robert Beers, executive director of the American Foreign Service Association, "anyone accredited to another country as a diplomat is entitled to the protection of the host government. This protection is exactly what has been violated in this instance." The outrage in Tehran suggests that this vital principle of discourse between nations may be violated again in this age when terrorism is becoming commonplace. Says Beers sadly, "The old rules simply don't apply any more. In fact, they appear to no longer exist."



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The Economy Becomes a Hostage

Troubles in Iran threaten higher energy prices and slower growth



Beyond the fate of the hostages in Tehran, a new worry loomed last week: Was the energy-squeezed and inflation-dazed world economy about to fall victim to the crisis between the U.S. and Iran?

Though the U.S.'s cutoff of imports from Iran and its seizure of that nation's assets in U.S. banks was a necessary response to irrational provocations, the actions also transformed petrodollars and petroleum itself into even more dangerous weapons in economic brinksmanship. That, in turn, added a new and alarming element to the crisis.

Tremors of foreboding spread through money markets from Tokyo to Bahrain. The dollar plunged steeply on initial reports that Iran would withdraw its deposits from U.S. banks, then rebounded in nervous surprise at the news that Washington was freezing the assets before they could be withdrawn. When rumors circulated in Europe and New York that Iran would counteract the move by refusing to accept dollars as payment for its oil delivered to any nation, the U.S. currency began to gyrate all over again. Brokers and traders passed the week wearing looks of astonishment at what might come next.

In the U.S., concern focused primarily on what effect the boycott of Iranian oil would have on the domestic economy. Would long gasoline lines return? Would prices for fuels of all sorts take another breathless leap? Would inflation surge, interest rates rise and the economy slip deeper into recession?

Under normal circumstances, neither of the U.S.'s actions should lead to such results. Oil imports from Iran amount to a scant 4% of total U.S. consumption. In theory, at least, those purchases could be easily replaced by swapping: oil companies could exchange Iranian crude with other companies that have equal amounts of non-Iranian petroleum. Nor in theory should the freezing of Iranian bank assets prove especially disruptive to money markets or the banking system. The Tehran government's estimated \$6 billion in petrodollar holdings is only a fraction of the more than \$150 billion that big international banks move back and forth among each other every day. Withdrawing the Iranian funds would, by itself, hardly cause much more than a momentary ripple.

In fact, the rising stakes in the Iranian mess are almost certain to put alarming new stresses on both the U.S. economy and the world financial system. Asserts Economist Otto Eckstein, pres-

ident of Data Resources Inc.: "The direct impact of the U.S.'s actions is obviously small. But the unfortunate experience of the past few years has been that every political problem involving an energy-producing nation ultimately converts itself into a further upset in the oil market and a further upset in prices."

For the U.S., which is still hurting from the two-month loss of Iranian crude earlier this year, almost any new interruption in supply, no matter how modest or brief, will lead to tighter markets and higher prices. In their present jittery state, Americans are ready to start topping off gas tanks for almost any reason. Not only

the Iranian embargo or risk losing their deliveries altogether. Because not every refinery can process all grades of crude, oilmen face logistical headaches in trying to switch about their Iranian and non-Iranian supplies. That is especially true for the four American companies providing nearly all of the 700,000 or so barrels of Iranian oil that until last week had entered the U.S. each day. Amerada Hess, the largest single supplier, delivered about 200,000 bbl. of the total. Much of it was processed at the company's refinery at St. Croix in the U.S. Virgin Islands, then transhipped to mainland U.S. ports. Among the other big suppliers, Gulf Oil



Storage tanks hold Iranian petroleum at the sprawling tanker-loading port of Kharg Island

Almost any disruptions in supply, no matter how brief, can aggravate inflation.

does the memory of a summer spent in gas lines remain fresh and infuriating, but so does the specter of the 1973 Arab embargo, which ushered in the age of energy upset.

Since January, gasoline prices have risen by about 45%, to a current national average of \$1.01 per gal. Daniel Lundberg, whose *Lundberg Letter* is widely regarded as the most reliable gauge of gasoline marketing trends, figures that prices are poised to jump to \$1.18 per gal. by year's end, a startling 17% rise in a little more than a month. Reason: with the troubles in Iran, big industrial users of oil as well as gasoline will now begin building up their stockpiles and tightening the market, sending prices soaring. That will put a pinch on the already strained budgets of families everywhere, but especially for people whose homes are warmed by heating oil.

Supply problems will be real enough for the oil companies that must abide by

provided about 135,000 bbl. a day. Ashland Oil shipped about 100,000 bbl. and Exxon averaged around 70,000 bbl.

Nearly half the total deliveries entered as gasoline, diesel fuel, heating oil, kerosene and other products from refineries throughout the Caribbean. Now much of the loss will have to be made up by having companies divert non-Iranian oil to the Caribbean refineries, while sending the Iranian crude to European refineries instead. That will mean steeper prices for Europeans because much Iranian oil is being sold at prices far above the official OPEC maximum.

Late in the week Iran further complicated the situation by declaring that American companies would no longer be permitted even to buy Iranian crude, let alone deliver it to the U.S. The petroleum will be sold instead to any non-U.S. oil companies that want it, leaving the U.S. firms to scrounge on world markets for whatever available

non-Iranian cargoes turn up.

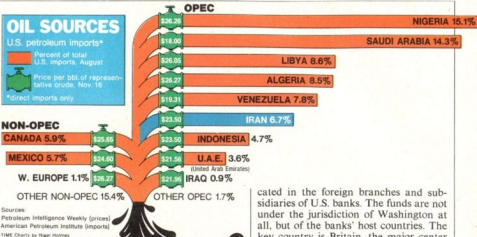
Oilmen are fearful that Iran will soon go a step further and simply cut back its production by a flat 700,000 bbl. With the world market tight, any such reduction would push up prices sharply, especially for single shipment cargoes that are sold on the so-called spot market, where more and more of the world oil trade now takes place.

Escalating spot market prices are, if anything, a bigger threat to the world economy than is the ever present danger of a cut in supplies. With spot prices now hovering at \$40 or more per bbl., nearly twice the maximum official OPEC price of \$23.50 for oil sold under contracts of three months or more, OPEC members are clamoring for a hefty new increase when the cartel meets in Caracas on Dec. 17. Notes a top Carter Administration official: "Spot prices are the locomotive now dragging OPEC prices along." Adds Data Resources' Eckstein: "Our present forecast has OPEC prices going to \$26 per bbl. during 1980, as a result of the current situation in Iran, and perhaps \$29 in 1981. But if Iran's production shuts down completely, the resulting shortfall would mean that we could well be paying between \$35 and \$40 long before then."

In fact, an interagency White House task force last week reported that there is a "substantial risk" of a drop in OPEC output of as much as 3 million bbl., an amount just about equal to total current Iranian production. The drop would be caused by expected cutbacks early next year by Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Nigeria and Libya. Thus oil prices stand to rise considerably even if Iran does not reduce its current production.

If prices go as far as \$35 per bbl., the impact on oil inflation and the world economy would be severe. U.S. consumer prices would continue rising at a dizzying double-digit pace, forcing the Federal Reserve to stick by its anti-inflation policy of sky-high interest rates much longer than expected. The almost inevitable result: a deeper recession than so far forecast. Despite slumping growth, the nation's oil import bill, which is projected to total \$61 billion this year, would leap to \$96 billion in 1980. That in turn would keep the dollar's value dropping, while provoking yet more demands by oil states for compensating price increases. The vicious cycle would continue to drag the economies of the U.S. and the world down and down.

The worst peril is the damage that the Iranian crisis can do to the international financial system that is the lifeblood of the world economy. Nearly all the



currency printed or minted by the U.S. remains physically inside the U.S., but an estimated \$750 billion in legal claims on that money are held by foreign governments, corporations and individuals as so-called Eurodollar accounts overseas. Many of those accounts, including the bulk of the frozen Iranian assets, are lo-

cated in the foreign branches and subsidiaries of U.S. banks. The funds are not under the jurisdiction of Washington at all, but of the banks' host countries. The key country is Britain, the major center for the Eurodollar market; banks in Paris, Frankfurt and Geneva also hold large Eurodollar deposits that technically lie outside U.S. jurisdiction.

British authorities seemed willing enough to overlook Washington's apparent transgression of their monetary sovereignty this time around, and Swiss officials left no doubt that they too would cooperate with the U.S. freeze. While stressing that all banks in Switzerland are subject to Swiss law, Swiss National Bank President Fritz Leutwiler declared that Switzerland would not tell its local U.S. banks what to do, implying that if Iran wanted its money, its lawyers could take the matter to court. Said he with a wink: "If American banks in Switzerland holding Iranian dollar accounts follow instructions from headquarters and apply the freeze, there is just nothing we can do."

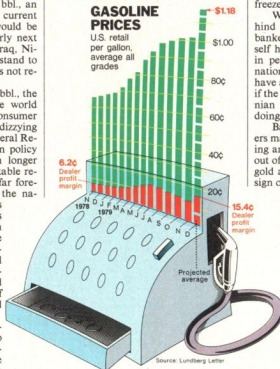
While governments closed ranks behind the U.S. initiative, some private bankers were troubled that banking itself had become more deeply enmeshed in petropolitics. Remarked a top international financial adviser in London: "We have an awful lot of people worrying that if the Americans can do this today to Iranian money, what is to stop them from doing it with my money tomorrow?"

Bankers fret that other OPEC producers may take Iran's experience as a warning and begin moving their funds quietly out of dollars and into foreign currencies, gold and other assets. So far, there is no sign of that happening, nor is there likely to be. Most governments, those belonging to OPEC included, applaud the tough-minded stand that Washington has taken with the Khomeini regime.

A more realistic worry is that conservative oil producers will see the seizure of Iran's funds as proof of the riskiness of putting assets in any money, in any bank. That would add yet more weight to the growing OPEC feeling that it is smarter to cut production and leave the oil in the ground where it is safe than to turn it into dollars or other paper assets that can be

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Nation

seized. Confidence in the international monetary system was shaky enough before last week's action. Since 1973, the nearly tenfold increase in oil prices has sent an estimated \$150 billion cascading into OPEC's coffers. The resulting deficits of the oil-dependent nations have soared, forcing countries to borrow heavily just to pay for their oil imports.

This process, known as petrodollar recycling, has pushed up the debts of the less developed nations to \$300 billion. Many nations are so weighed down with debt that bankers are growing wary of lending them more. Yet if they cannot borrow, poor countries will have trou-

ble importing more oil. Without energy, their economies will slump, exports will shrivel, and they may default on existing loans. At the extreme, that would threaten some of the lending banks with failure, and the U.S. Federal Reserve would have to push the money printing presses into overdrive to bail them out by advancing huge loans to the banks. Such a step would amount to the U.S. undertaking to make good for the oil-inflated debts of the world.

Though the immediate crisis facing the world is the direct responsibility of the Ayatollah Khomeini and his pseudo-government in Iran, the danger would

not be nearly so grave if the U.S. had not allowed itself to become so dependent on foreign oil. Under the circumstances, there is no guarantee that economic disruption can be avoided no matter what steps the nation takes. But the best hope for avoiding real trauma is to cut consumption, conserve supplies and, at the very least, make do with 700,000 bbl. less of crude per day. Such an effort would put some slack in worldwide petroleum supplies and help restrain prices. More important, it would also show Iran and the world that the U.S. can start breaking its addiction to the demon oil. ■

Not Much Left to Seize

In business terms, both sides have fired their big guns: oil cutoff, attempted bank withdrawal, asset freeze. What further economic weapons can the U.S. use against Iran—and vice versa?

The obvious U.S. tactic might be to embargo food exports to Iran, which amounted to nearly \$500 million in the fiscal year ended last September. The American Farm Bureau Federation would support President Carter if he should cut off grain shipments, as he could do under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act. Cries of "Food for crude!" are starting to be heard. The White House, however, has no present intention of halting food supplies. If the U.S. later plugs up this cornucopia, Iran will be less vulnerable than it once was. As a Persian grain trader says, "We are earning \$24 billion a year from oil. We can buy food any place we want."

U.S. exports of all kinds to Iran have fallen dramatically: from \$3.7 billion in 1978 to under \$1 billion this year. Iran gets about 25% of its food imports from the U.S., having bought \$16,000 metric tons of American wheat in the past fiscal year. In September the Khomeini government signed a contract to double wheat purchases from Australia, to \$20,000 metric tons over the next six months. The price is about \$20 higher than America's \$185 a ton. Meat from Australia and New Zealand, eggs from Turkey and poultry from Rumania are flowing into Iran. The country has also been going to Thailand for about 15% of its imported rice, and the Thais have plenty more where that came from. Were the U.S. to embargo shipments to Iran, food produced elsewhere would simply move from one international middleman to another and end up in the bazaars of Tehran.

U.S. leverage is also weak because all commercial activity with Iran has declined since the revolution last winter brought about the nationalization of the banks and most private industry. A few years ago, the membership of the Iran-American Chamber of Commerce was a *Who's Who* of U.S. business. From A (Allis-Chalmers Overseas) to X (Xerox), the list numbered close to 250 and included practically every major U.S. company in international trade.

Now, almost all have shuttered their plants and offices, or turned them over to local workers to run, and brought their U.S. employees home. Johnson & Johnson's plant in

Tehran, which made baby products, was expropriated in August. GM still claims a minority interest in a Tehran auto factory, but it has been run by Iranians since GM pulled out the last five Americans and a Swiss a year ago. Last December Du Pont closed its fiber plant in Isfahan.

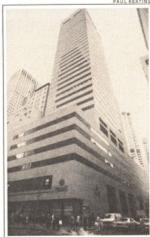
However, PepsiCo is still shipping concentrate to its Iranian bottlers, and Continental Telephone is proceeding with building a phone cable network for Tehran. One of the largest projects had been the joint venture between California's Fluor Corp. and West Germany's Thyssen to build a \$750 million, 200,000 bbl.-a-day oil refinery at Isfahan for the National Iranian Oil Co. The refinery has been a high-priority item for the Iranian government, which fears shortages of kerosene and diesel fuel during the winter. Last week, when the refinery was a month away from partial operation, Fluor called home its 52 remaining American employees, leaving Thyssen to finish the job. The few U.S. businessmen who remain in Iran represent a couple of banks and a computer company, and they are lying low.

There are not many physical assets for either the U.S. or Iran to expropriate. Many U.S. businessmen preferred to export products to Iran or to provide services in exchange for cash on the barrelhead. The Commerce Department estimates that U.S. real estate and other assets in Iran amount to only about \$300 million. U.S. businessmen can file claims against the Tehran government's frozen \$6 billion to compensate for the assets they stand to lose in Iran.

Iranian properties in the U.S. are even more meager. The most conspicuous among them is the 36-story skyscraper on Manhattan's Fifth Avenue at 52nd Street. It is owned by the tax-exempt Pahlavi Foundation, created by the Shah but now controlled by the Ayatollah's supporters. The Iranians also own some U.S. military spare parts stored in a warehouse at New Jersey's Mc-

Guire Air Force Base and awaiting shipment. But, says David Bauer, an economist for the Conference Board, a New York-based research group, "I can't think of a single Iranian investment in a factory operating in the U.S."

In any event, economic sanctions have a dismal record of failure. The long U.S. trade embargo against Cuba has hurt the island economy, but Castro has managed to acquire most basics from the Soviet Union and other suppliers. In the mid-1960s, certain Latin American governments turned to Europe for the military weapons the Americans refused to sell them. There is very little that the U.S. sells to Iran that other countries could not supply.



The Pahlavi Foundation building

Time Essay



The Symbolism of the Siege



Beyond the issue of securing the release of the hostages in Iran, the biggest immediate problem facing the Carter Administration is how to manage the symbolism of the siege—and, perhaps more important, the symbolism of its aftermath. There is great danger that the spectacle of youthful radicals, backed by an aged and atavistic theocrat, humiliating and terrorizing American diplomatic personnel will have become a symbol of U.S. weakness. On the battlefield of domestic politics, the past two weeks offer Jimmy Carter's bipartisan legion of opponents an almost irresistible target for sniping. All a skillful stump speaker has to do is lament "the decline of American power and prestige," and his listeners will grit their teeth at the memory of Uncle Sam, a goat's skull for a head, burning in effigy in Tehran while the perpetrators, in a dramatic gesture of their discipline and outrageousness, collect trash in Old Glory.

In the international community, the reaction is likely to be more diffuse, but not less damaging to the Administration. Staunch allies, such as the NATO countries and Japan, ought to be aghast at an incident that so vividly demonstrates the limits of their senior partner's power. Friendly states in the Middle East, like Israel, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, will probably be more ambivalent: on the one hand, they may hope that the outrage will provoke the U.S. into playing a more assertive role in their region; on the other, they are sure to worry about how credible the U.S. performance will be. Said one prominent Saudi: "America has gotten a reputation for letting down its friends, and that won't be so easy to correct."

As for U.S. adversaries, particularly the Soviet Union, the events in Iran come as almost unmitigated good news, at least in the short run. The Kremlin is eager for the world, particularly the Third World, to believe that America is on the defensive, if not on the retreat. At the same time, the Soviet leadership is anxious to avoid the impression that the U.S.S.R. is leading the charge. That would violate the 1972 code of détente, which enjoins the superpowers from "efforts to obtain unilateral advantage," and it would jeopardize SALT II as well. Therefore, the Soviets prefer that the U.S. seem to be in a losing struggle not so much with a predatory Soviet Union as with the relentless "progressive" (i.e., anti-American) forces of history. In that sense Ayatollah Khomeini, his mobs and his minions are doing the Kremlin's work, even though they are not doing its bidding.

The Soviets concede privately that, in the longer term, the turmoil in Iran has potentially worrisome consequences for the U.S.S.R. Islamic fundamentalism is anathema to Communism, and the Ayatollah is religiously akin to the Muslims of Soviet Central Asia just across the border. On the other hand, the National Security Council last week pondered the possibility that anarchy in Iran could lead to a radical leftist takeover. No doubt the same possibility has occurred to Iran watchers in Moscow. That helps explain the ambiguity of Soviet behavior so far: provocative Farsi-language broadcasts from a Soviet radio station in Baku, combined with begrudging diplomatic support for the U.S. at the United Nations.

The Carter Administration is vulnerable, both politically and geopolitically, but not because of its handling of this particular crisis. Given the bizarre nature of

the siege, the Administration may have had some excuse for being caught by surprise. It had no choice but to proceed with extreme caution. There is room for second-guessing the wisdom of dispatching a presidential emissary to the Ayatollah. Kibitzers, like Columnist Joseph Kraft, say that the very willingness to negotiate was a craven capitulation to blackmail. But if Ramsey Clark's mission had succeeded, it would have been hailed as a brilliant ploy. In a game that began because the other side broke the rules, the U.S. must play the long shots. Carter deserves credit for the right measure of firmness and prudence. The charge of ineffectuality does not wash—not in this extraordinarily ticklish test of his leadership.

Carter's problem, instead, is one of context. It arises not from the Iran crisis per se so much as from an accumulation of controversial initiatives and responses, stretching back to the outset of his Administration. Many of them were justifiable in and of themselves but troublesome when strung together, because they suggest a pattern of uncertainty, inconsistency, inaction and weakness: the ambitious opening SALT proposal that was scrapped when the Soviets rudely rejected it; the presidential order to withdraw American troops from South Korea, since rescinded; the surprise and helplessness of the U.S. as the Shah was driven from Iran; the superficially similar expulsion of Tacho Somoza and the leftward lurch of Nicaragua; and the Administration's panic over its own discovery of a Soviet combat brigade in Cuba—first declaring it unacceptable, then, after some artful obfuscation, accepting it.

All this has contributed to the percep-

tion of a President who reacts rather than acts, who adjusts to change rather than guides it. In international relations and domestic politics alike, such perceptions can have the force of reality; enemies can exploit impressions more readily than actualities, since impressions are, by nature, more malleable. Countering the impression of weakness will be difficult for Carter. It would also be difficult for any successor, even if he were a tough talker who rode the present wave of anger right into the White House. The supercharged atmosphere of the current presidential campaign is a bit like the TV land parodied in the 1977 movie *Network*. The candidates risk falling into the role played by the late Peter Finch, that of a deranged anchor-man who became a prime-time superstar by leading a coast-to-coast chant of "I'm mad as hell, and I'm not going to take it any more!" Giving vent to the present national mood of frustration, with its overtones of jingoism, is much easier than prescribing a way of getting the hostages out alive, and salvaging America's prestige in the process. Criticizing Carter for sending the wrong signals is much easier than suggesting concrete actions that will send the right ones once this crisis is over. Contenders like Ted Kennedy, who have chastised Carter for not having a contingency plan, and critics like Henry Kissinger, who have decried his making "impotence a declaration of policy," have yet to assert—much less agree—where and exactly how the U.S. should throw its weight around.

James Schlesinger sardonically seconds Andrew Young's nomination of Khomeini for sainthood, saying that the Ayatollah has accomplished a "miracle" by uniting the American people. Not really. The U.S. is unified in its indignation, but indignation is not a foreign policy or a military strategy. Nor is there any sign that the country is united in a new determination to fight blackmail by oil with the self-discipline and self-sacrifice of energy conservation. On the looming but still largely hypothetical question of exactly what the U.S. should do next, even if all the hostages are freed, there is no stunning national consensus. There is, however, a nationwide, perhaps worldwide, predisposition to criticize Carter for softness if his response is restrained and cautious. Never mind that restraint and caution are precisely what is called for. Overreaction would exacerbate the turmoil in Iran and the instability of the region, which in turn could escalate into a conflict with the Soviet Union. That is the essence of Carter's dilemma: how to behave responsibly without looking weak. In a way, it is unfair, but as Carter (like John Kennedy before him) has said, life is unfair. The problem is especially unfair for a President who—throughout his stewardship and despite the virtues of individual policies—has failed to convey an overreaching sense of strength and cogency in his foreign policy as a whole.

—Strobe Talbott

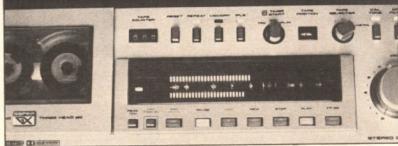
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Nation

Will the Last Remain First?

A cooler Ronald Reagan formally enters the race

For months he had waited patiently in the wings, as nine other Republicans entered the race without dislodging him from his position at the head of the pack. Last week Ronald Reagan, the once fervent evangelist of the political right, finally made his move. He did so in one of the nation's few citadels of G.O.P. moderation: New York City. As a spotlight redolent of Hollywood memories illuminated his pinkish cheeks and slightly graying temples, the still handsome candidate declared, "I am here tonight to announce my intention to seek the Republican nomination for President of the United States." Some 1,500 followers, who had paid \$500 each to be present in the grand ballroom of the New York Hilton, stood and roared their approval.

They were then treated to 25 minutes of the sort of anti-Washington, pro-free-enterprise punch lines that Reagan has used to wow audiences since 1964, when he campaigned for Barry Goldwater. But Reagan delivered his speech with far less passion than he has in the past. This time he is the front runner, and in an attempt to broaden his appeal, the former California Governor seems to have banked the fires that once frightened more moderate G.O.P. factions.

Yet, as befitted an ex-sports-caster and ex-actor, his delivery was as smooth and flawless as ever. Only when he told movingly of how his father had lost his job at Christmas time during the Great Depression did Reagan let his emotions show, nearly choking up. Vowed Reagan: "I cannot and will not stand by while inflation and joblessness destroy the dignity of our people." His voice also wavered at the same point in an identical TV



The front runner on the hustings

"I won't be carried off the track."

speech broadcast that evening by about 90 stations, at a cost of some \$400,000.

If some of the excitement was gone as Reagan sought to sound more calm and reasonable, he had cause to believe that the political climate had moved his way. Certainly within his party, the ideological gulf has narrowed since 1976. His three major opponents, Howard Baker, George Bush and John Connally, are about as conservative as Reagan.

Reagan assailed "the arrogance of a federal establishment which accepts no blame for our condition, cannot be relied upon to give us a fair estimate of our situation and utterly refuses to live within its means." He labeled the nation's econ-

omy a "disaster" and blamed it on a Federal Government that "has overspent, overestimated and overregulated." He lamented the fact that "the great productivity of our industry is now surpassed by virtually all the major nations that compete with us for world markets." He complained that "our defense strength has deteriorated." He blasted U.S. failure to reduce its dependence on foreign oil.

To cure these ills, Reagan called for the removal of government obstacles to boost domestic oil and gas production, expanded use of nuclear power plants and increased defense spending, as well as a federal tax cut to boost the economy and a balanced budget. (As Governor, Reagan curbed the growth of state employment and produced a revenue surplus.) In one departure from his expected stands on domestic issues, Reagan omitted any attack on Carter's proposed tax on oil companies' windfall profits and even suggested that the Federal Government should determine whether Big Oil "exploits" the energy crisis.

Yet Reagan's most notable innovations came in the field of foreign policy. One was his advocating of statehood for Puerto Rico, a highly charged issue on the island and of little urgency to mainland voters. The second was his calling for a "North American accord" among the U.S., Canada and Mexico. Reagan disclosed no specifics about the proposal other than that representatives of Mexico and Canada should "sit in on high-level planning sessions" in Washington.

Reagan's veteran campaign manager, John Sears, said that both proposals had been inserted into the speech as examples of "Reagan's forward-looking activist presidency." Because Reagan has consistently been favored by roughly a third of Republican voters in opinion polls (his closest rivals, Connally and Baker, trail at about 15%), his advisers figure that he can afford to court the Democrats and independents he would need to win the presidency if he got the nomination.

The strategy has been devised mainly by Sears, who guided Reagan to within 117 delegate votes of taking the nomination away from Gerald Ford in 1976. Sears, who is regarded by political pros as one of the best campaign managers around, views the 1976 experience, even though a loss, as a plus. Says he: "Having done it once before may be a bigger advantage than our current popularity."

Popularity, of course, often fades in American politics, especially if the front runner bumbles during the long ordeal of primary contests. Quips an official of the Republican National Committee: "You remember President Muskie and President Romney." Reagan's tendency to shoot from the lip hurt him in 1976, when he proclaimed that \$90 billion could be cut from the federal budget merely by dropping many of the federal social service programs.



With Wife Nancy at a G.O.P. rally in Boston's blue-collar Dorchester section

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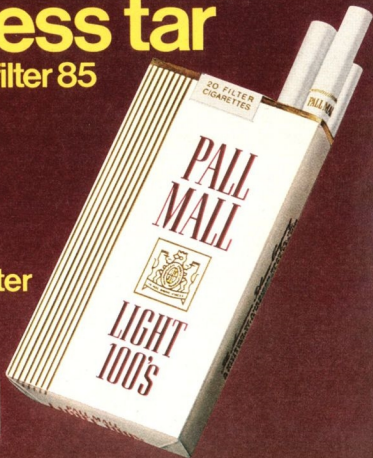
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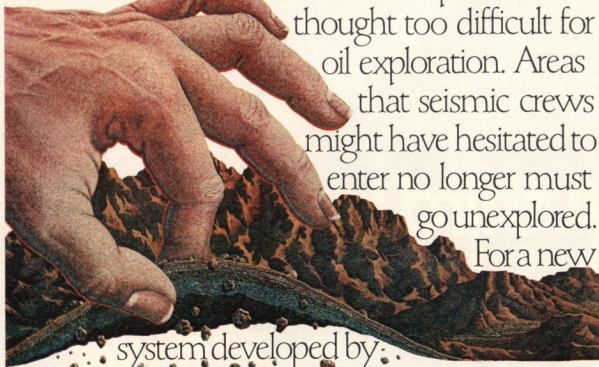
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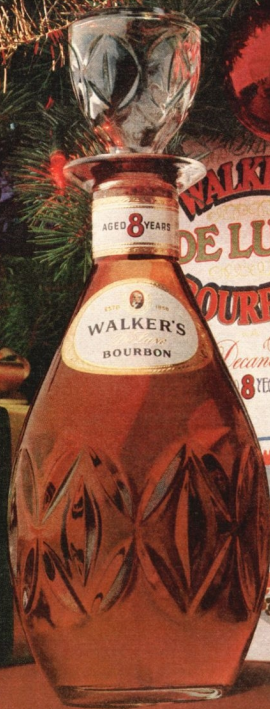
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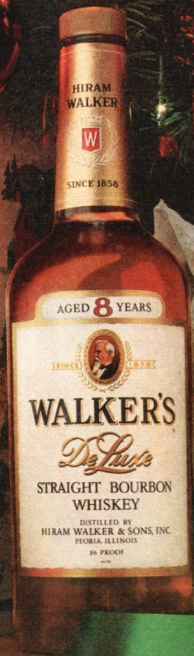
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Nation

His opponents are counting on him to make similar mistakes this time. Says Dave Keene, a top 1976 Reagan strategist who is now working for George Bush: "I don't question Reagan's health or stamina or his intellectual capacity to handle issues. But he may be unable to field tough questions and develop sophisticated positions under the pressure of a campaign."

To lessen the chances of making errors, Reagan carefully prepared for the battle during the months that he delayed making his formal announcement. He has kept on top of current events, and made sure his name has stayed familiar by writing a column of commentary for 105 newspapers and broadcast messages for 270 radio stations. He has traveled half a million miles since last March as a dinner speaker, charging up to \$10,000 for

each appearance and raising some \$3 million for local Republican candidates. In recent months he has spent several hours a week being briefed intensively on both foreign and domestic issues by Martin Anderson, a former White House adviser in the Nixon Administration and an economist. Meanwhile, Reagan's campaign staff has built the biggest coast-to-coast organization of any G.O.P. candidate.

While Sears is Reagan's top adviser on strategy, his campaign chairman is one of the Senate's ablest conservatives, Nevada's Paul Laxalt. Last week Reagan named as Laxalt's top assistant another prominent conservative, New York Congressman Jack Kemp, the former Buffalo Bills quarterback who made a name for himself politically in 1977 by advocating a 30% cut in federal tax rates.

Reagan's chief problem at this point is his slow start on fund raising for himself. Texan John Connally has already netted about \$6.6 million, nearly twice as much as Reagan. Still Reagan's money-men have a handy list of some 400,000 contributors from 1976 and expect to catch up fast.

Immediately after his announcement, Reagan embarked on his two-part campaign strategy: 1) to concede no region to any opponent, and 2) to strike hard and fast, conveying a clear message to wavering local politicians that they must join him now or be left behind. Reagan's strategists hope that the blitz will lead to early victories in Iowa, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Florida, thus locking up the nomination before spring. Contents Reagan Press Secretary Jim Lake: "If we

"If You Don't Dance"

As Ronald Reagan prepared to launch his campaign for the presidency, TIME National Political Correspondent John Stacks and West Coast Correspondent Joseph Kane interviewed him at his home in Los Angeles. Their report:

With a fortune of well over \$1 million, Ronald and Nancy Reagan live comfortably in an elegantly furnished, five-bedroom ranch-style house in Pacific Palisades. In the living room, the grand piano is covered with mementos of show business days, photographs of Old Friends Frank Sinatra, Bob Hope and Edgar Bergen. On the end tables are small glass dishes filled with the jelly beans that became his trademark as Governor. They are intended for guests. To keep down his weight, he rarely eats them now. Reagan is dressed casually, in slacks, a blue V-neck sweater and velvet slippers embossed with back-to-back gold Rs.

No matter how much his campaign advisers have tried to moderate his image, at heart he is still the romantic conservative he has always been, glorying in the strength and goodness of the American people. Says he: "I used to fantasize what it would be like if everyone in Government would quietly slip away and close the doors and disappear. See how long it would take the people of this country to miss them. I think that life would go on, and the people would keep right on doing the things they are doing, and we would get along a lot better than we think."

Reagan calls the national campaign trail the "mashed potato circuit," and he has been wandering along it for 15 years. Says he: "I have a feeling now that I don't get on planes. I get up in the morning and put them on, like a pair of pants. I wear them. In show business we used to say that if you don't sing or dance, you wind up an after-dinner speaker."

He was Governor of California for eight years, and he believes that somehow Government by the people has been snatched away from them. Says he: "I think one of the things that has been done over the past few decades... was a tendency to have increasing Government by an elite, and

those at the Government levels believing that they had to make the decisions more and more regarding how business and industry are run, interfering virtually in every one of our lives. And they are doing this to a people who for 200 years have probably been the most independent and most individually free people in all the history of mankind."

"Oh, Government is a legitimate function," Reagan adds. "When I talk about regulations, I always use the words 'unnecessary regulations.' I don't want medicines that could destroy our health instead of helping us. But then Government goes beyond that protection thing, and they start trying to protect us from ourselves."

More generally, Reagan blames Washington for turning Americans against one another. He says: "We have seen politicians in recent decades set people apart. They have helped to create special interest groups, whether on racial or religious lines or on ethnic lines, whether it's labor or management, whatever; and they have done it for selfish political reasons. Then they can appeal by giving or offering a promise to one group that they'll get special treatment. They are appealing to envy and greed and pitting one group against another."

Reagan's view of foreign relations is similarly one of a nation beleaguered. "I know this is going to be a perilous time ahead," he says. "I think the arrogance of the Soviet statements and actions reveals how far they are probably going to go to test us. I guess the biggest reaction of anything I say is to my line that maybe we should stop worrying about whether the rest of the world likes us, and decide we are going to be respected in the world as we once were. I think this loss of respect is reversible, mainly because the people want it reversed. We have backed away from some of our principles. We have appeased. We've certainly turned off a number of our friends."

If Reagan's views have not changed much since he emerged as a national political figure, he thinks that he himself has changed a bit. Says he: "I probably have a greater tolerance of opponents. I suppose I learned they weren't an enemy out to do me in. They sincerely believed in their ways as I believe in mine, and so I suppose there is a sort of tolerance I gained in that regard. I don't think I lose my temper quite as quickly as I once did."



Showing a greater tolerance of his opponents

Nation

win the early primaries, we think it will be all over."

From New York, Reagan flew into heavily Democratic territory in Boston's blue-collar Dorchester section. He was greeted warmly at an electrical workers union hall by 500 people waving placards (SINK WITH TED: SWIM WITH RON and souther for reagan). Reagan left Massachusetts to Ford without a fight in 1976; he intends to slug it out there this year, even though the hard-working Bush seems much better organized in the state than any other G.O.P. candidate.

Next, Reagan got a tumultuous welcome in New Hampshire, where he drew 48% of the primary vote in 1976. Some 3,500 cheering people jammed the hall of

\$225,000, finished second, with 26.6%. A surprisingly strong third: George Bush, who collected 21.1% of the votes after spending a mere \$40,000 and visiting the state only a few times. Three weeks ago Bush scored a startling win over Howard Baker in a similar poll in Maine, and the Florida results further strengthened his candidacy. Yet what will matter far more for all the candidates is how well they fare in the state's March primary.

Everywhere Reagan went last week, the question of his age popped up. If elected, he would turn 70 a month after his inauguration—making him the oldest of all U.S. Presidents to assume the office. His opponents figure that he is most vulnerable on this issue. Nonetheless, except for

Finally, a Yes

Klutznick to Commerce

Henry Ford II turned down the job, as did Reginald Jones, chairman of General Electric Co., Jane Cahill Pfeiffer, chairman of NBC, and a dozen other captains of American industry and business. But last week Jimmy Carter finally found a nominee to succeed Juanita Kreps as Secretary of Commerce. His choice: Philip M. Klutznick, 72, a multimillionaire Chicago real estate developer. Said Klutznick: "I can't say I sought the job, but considering the problems that we face in the economic field, it's not easy to say no to the President."

Actually, Klutznick has been saying yes to Presidents for decades. Son of a Kansas City, Mo., businessman, he earned his law degree at Creighton University in 1930 and practiced in Omaha until 1944, when he became commissioner of the Federal Public Housing Authority. Since then he has served in part-time posts for every President except Richard Nixon, including two years as U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Economic and Social Council during the Kennedy Administration.

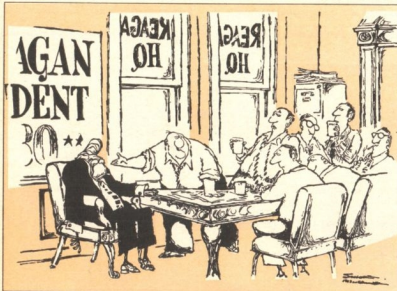
But Klutznick's career has mostly been in real estate. In 1946, he began developing Park Forest, now a suburb of 30,000 people, in former cornfields about 30 miles south of Chicago. The town was regarded by urban experts as a model of intelligent planning. In 1968, Klutznick founded the Chicago-based Urban Investment and Development Co.; two years later the firm was sold to Aetna Life & Casualty for more than \$52 million. His latest major project was Water Tower Place, a 74-story, \$195 million showpiece on Chicago's North Michigan Avenue. The complex includes the 20-floor Ritz-Carlton hotel, 150 stores and 40 floors of high-priced condominiums. Klutznick and his wife Ethel occupy one of them near the top floor; he calls it living "over the store." They have four sons and a daughter, and twelve grandchildren.

Associates describe him as invariably good humored, calm and extraordinarily energetic. Every morning he swims 20 laps in the Ritz-Carlton's Olympic-size pool and shows up at his office by 7, where he makes his own coffee. He has long been active in Jewish affairs and is president of the World Jewish Congress.

Such vigor dispelled any White House qualms about Klutznick's age. Indeed, the Chicagoan insists that it was he who first brought it up. Says he with a laugh: "If they think I'm competent, who am I to deny it?" ■



Philip Klutznick



"And I'll tell you another advantage to having a candidate Ronnie's age... he doesn't have to get his mother's permission to run..."

a National Guard armory in Manchester, while some 2,000 more listened from smaller adjoining rooms. He drew standing applause when he declared, "We must shelve SALT II." While refraining from suggesting what Carter ought to do about the hostage crisis in Iran, he stirred another ovation by proclaiming, "It is time to stop worrying whether someone likes us and decide we are going to be respected in the world... to the degree that no dictator would ever again seize our embassy and take our people."

Although the Northeast got most of Reagan's attention in the first week of official campaigning, he made a side trip to a rally in more congenial territory in Cicero, Ill., and spent Saturday in Florida, where a convention of state Republicans took a symbolic straw vote. As expected, Reagan won the poll, with 34.4% of the 1,326 ballots cast, while Connally, who had pressed hard for a squeaker by outspending the Californian \$300,000 to

a slight thickening around his middle since 1976, he looks as fit as ever. His aides released a report of his last physical examination, in April, which showed no signs of coronary disease and a blood pressure of 120/80—a rate physicians consider excellent. He has a touch of arthritis in his right thumb and a minor respiratory allergy to pollen. Reagan's aides contend that the age issue has been exaggerated by the press, yet polls repeatedly show that it concerns many voters. Reagan has faced the problem mostly by joking about it. In a jab at Carter's collapse during a long jog, Reagan last week referred to the stiff race ahead and quipped, "You can be sure I won't be carried off the track."

The acid test of Reagan's stamina will be the grueling campaign itself. Declares Republican National Chairman Bill Brock: "The age question will answer itself. If Reagan goes through 35 primary states and succeeds, then we'll know that age is not a problem." ■

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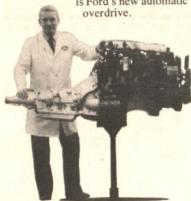
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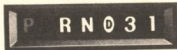
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The Chippewas Want Their Rights

Retort some whites: "Save a fish—spear an Indian"

The whites who live on the White Earth reservation in northwestern Minnesota are increasingly apprehensive about their Indian neighbors. Says Jane Reish, co-owner of the Jolly Fisherman Resort: "We're not just a little bit nervous, we're scared to death. We seem to be caught in a time warp. All this talk about the Treaty of 1867. This is 1979!"

It is indeed 1979, but Indians all over the U.S. are on the warpath against whites—and winning. Brandishing legal briefs, the Indians are asserting their rights under old treaties and insisting on control over activities on their reservations.

This push marks still another turn in Indian militancy. The celebrated cases in which Indian tribes claimed ownership of huge tracts of land now seem headed for compromises. In Maine the Penobscots and Passamaquoddis, who once demanded 12 million acres, or two-thirds of the state, have come down to 300,000 acres, and may well settle for less. Meanwhile, cases arising out of how land and resources are used have multiplied startlingly; there now are an estimated 7,000 claims in 30 states.

The bitterest disputes have turned out to be over hunting and fishing. Two precedent-setting battles are taking place on reservations in Michigan and Minnesota that were visited by TIME Correspondent Madeleine Nash. Her report:

In Michigan's Upper Peninsula, which separates Lake Superior from lakes Michigan and Huron, there are bumper stickers that exhort: SAVE A FISH—SPEAR AN INDIAN. Whites have fired shots at Chippewa fishermen, smashed their boats and slashed their tires. The confrontation intensified last spring after Federal Judge Noel Fox ruled that, under treaties signed in 1836 and 1855, the state could not regulate fishing by Indians. Said Fox: "The fish belong to the Indians as a matter of right." Since then, many Chippewas on the poverty-battered Bay Mills reservation have become full-time commercial fishermen. At 6 on a late autumn evening, during the prime fishing season, almost all of them are on the move to fishing spots that may be 100 miles or more away; by morning a successful fisherman will have hauled up to half a ton of silvery whitefish, worth about \$800, into his 25-ft. boat. On other nights, of course, the catch is much less. The average Indian fisherman earns about \$10,000 a year.

What infuriates the whites is that the Chippewas use gill nets, which are wide-mesh devices that also trap and kill lake trout and coho salmon. Both are among the game fish that Michigan spends \$1.6 million a year to stock in its waters.



Brave on White Earth reservation in 1894

"We seem to be caught in a time warp."

Whites fear that Chippewa gill netters will clean out the trout and cohos, and destroy the state's \$350 million-a-year sport-fishing industry. Myrl Keller, a state fish biologist, calls the Indians' use of the nets a "malicious, wasteful mode of fishing."

The state, which has appealed Fox's decision, wants the Indians to use cage-like trap nets, which do not kill the fish, and to return the game fish to the water. But the Indians say they cannot afford trap nets. They would require an initial in-



Elmer LeBlanc hauling in a gill net

"The fish belong to the Indians."

vestment of \$20,000, about 20 times the cost of using a gill net. In the Chippewa view, the dispute is plain enough: it is between poor Indians who fish for a living and rich whites who fish for fun. Says Chippewa Elmer LeBlanc: "Our forefathers gave us the right to hunt and fish. I want it to be a livelihood."

In northern Minnesota, the fight between whites and Indians also started with a court ruling. In August, the state supreme court held that Minnesota had no jurisdiction over hunting and fishing by Chippewas on the White Earth reservation, where white residents actually outnumber the Indians, 5,500 to 4,500, and own 42% of the land. Shortly afterward, the tribe announced that it would enforce its own regulations on anyone, Indian or white, hunting or fishing on the reservation. After threats of violence between whites and Indians, Minnesota authorities secured a temporary injunction restraining the Chippewas from regulating white activities. But the state went along with the tribe's opening move: shortening the deer-hunting season on the reservation to three days in early November. In most of the surrounding area, the season lasted nine days.

A month after the court decision, whites on the reservation received a more serious setback. Many of them got notices from the Bureau of Indian Affairs that the titles to the land on which they have lived for generations may be invalid: the land may actually belong to the Indians. The whites probably face no real threat of eviction because many Chippewas seem willing to accept a compromise under which they might be given an equivalent amount of Government-owned land. But whites say that their property values have been depressed by uncertainty.

White resort owners now fear that the Chippewas will attempt to reserve some types of hunting and fishing for Indians alone. If they succeed, hardly any white sportsmen would drive up from Minneapolis-St. Paul. Over dinner in his kitchen, Bob Bruns, owner of Whaley's Resort, gloomily reports that last year he had 46 reservations for deer season; this year he had only three. Says Bruns, who quit his job as a welding supervisor in the Twin Cities eight years ago to move to the reservation: "We figured we had the world by the tail until this thing came up. Now it looks like we're furnishing the tail."

However the fights in Michigan and Minnesota come out, a flood of additional Indian-rights claims may soon engulf courts across the country. Congress has set a deadline of April 1 for the Federal Government, which legally is the protector of the Indians, to file suits on their behalf. Pushed by this deadline, many tribal councils that have been attempting to negotiate solutions of their problems with whites may demand that Washington take the cases to court.

Photographed at The Christian Brothers Champagne Aging Cellars, Napa Valley, California.

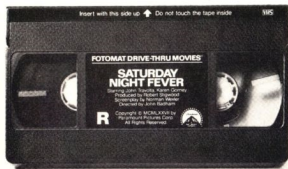
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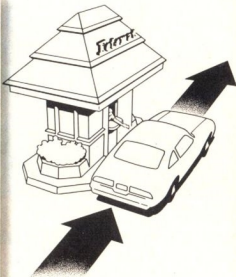
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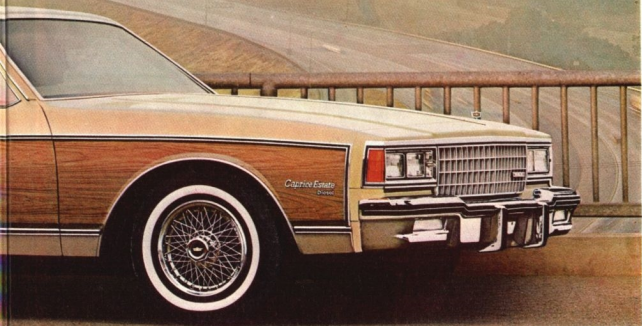
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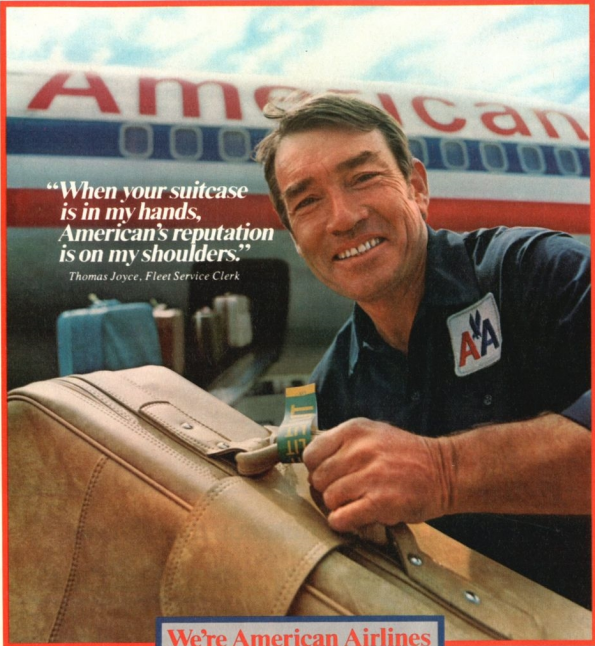
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Scotto: Out of the Dock

The waterfront boss is convicted in Manhattan

As a vice president of the International Longshoremen's Association and head of its Local 1814 in Brooklyn, Anthony Scotto, 45, has long been laden with two very different reputations. A personable and articulate man who favors \$500 pinstripe suits and expensive Manhattan restaurants, Scotto has lectured at Harvard University on labor relations, serves as a trustee of the Brooklyn Academy of Music and counts some of New York's most prominent politicians among his friends. But because of his occupational affiliation with the city's notoriously corrupt waterfront and his 1957 marriage to the niece of Mobster Albert Anastasia, po-

lice considered Scotto to be a criminal. In 1969, the FBI went so far as to identify him as a *capodecina*, or lieutenant, in the Mafia family of Carlo Gambino, an allegation that the union leader vehemently denied.



Scotto (left), his wife and son leaving the courthouse after the trial

Testimony about a hot hair dryer, and a cold cash payoff in a hotel men's room.

lice considered Scotto to be a criminal. In 1969, the FBI went so far as to identify him as a *capodecina*, or lieutenant, in the Mafia family of Carlo Gambino, an allegation that the union leader vehemently denied.

For ten weeks, the two images of Scotto have clashed in a federal courtroom in Manhattan where he was tried on 44 counts of accepting illegal payoffs, evading income taxes and racketeering. Last week, after deliberating for five days, the jury found Scotto guilty on 33 of the charges. Convicted with him was Anthony Anastasio, executive vice president of Local 1814.

The major charges against Scotto were that he had accepted \$300,000 over five years from two dockside businessmen, William Montella Jr. and Walter D. O'Hearn Jr. As evidence, the prosecution produced 27 tape recordings from FBI eavesdropping on Scotto's conversations over a period of five months. On one 1978 tape, he could be heard accepting \$5,000 in cash from Montella in the men's room

of a New York City hotel. Montella, the onetime owner of a marine carpentry company, testified that the payment was supposed to help prevent labor troubles.

Montella was hardly a model witness. He told the court that he could go to jail for "100 years" if he confessed all his past crimes. Said he: "On the waterfront, no business is completely honest." Montella even explained how to persuade a reluctant bar owner to sign over his business. "You take a hair blower," he instructed the rapt court, "get it hot and put it on his neck until he signs. He'll sign."

The trial also produced evidence that Scotto, who is paid a salary of \$120,000 a

Carey and Cuomo denied any knowledge of the contributions.

To bolster his defense, Scotto produced an extraordinary parade of character witnesses, including Carey and former New York City Mayors Robert Wagner and John Lindsay. Carey characterized Scotto as "trustworthy, energetic, intelligent, effective and dedicated." He is, testified the Governor, "one of the outstanding young labor leaders in the United States." After the verdict, Carey changed his assessment. Said he: "I feel compassion for Mr. Scotto's family and regret that a person of such considerable talent and ability has violated our laws."

Scotto vowed to appeal; if his conviction is upheld, he faces a maximum of 20 years in prison and, after his release, will be barred from regaining his union post for at least five years.

Foreign Bribes

Just a little bit illegal?

For two years U.S. businessmen have complained that their overseas sales are being hurt by the 1977 Foreign Corrupt Practices Act. It made bribery of foreign officials by U.S. firms a crime punishable by jail terms and fines of up to \$1 million. Now, according to Justice Department officials, some relief may be in sight. Starting early next year, the department's lawyers will offer advice to businessmen on how far they can go without risking prosecution.

In general, the law permits payoffs to customs officers or other local officials to enable routine business to be conducted smoothly. But bribes to obtain new business deals are illegal. Because distinguishing between the two kinds of bribery is difficult, the department will urge firms to submit details of a questionable transaction to Government lawyers for analysis. The Justice Department promises that the information will be kept secret and that businessmen will receive the department's probable "enforcement action" within 60 days.

The business community reacted favorably to the plan, even though many executives question whether the Government can keep a secret. Others fear that even if the Government can, competitors may be able to gain confidential marketing information from the department under the Freedom of Information Act. Then too some businessmen suspect that asking for guidance will invite an investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission, which disagrees strongly with the Justice Department's approach. Says SEC Enforcement Chief Stanley Sporkin, who has long been under fire by businessmen as an overly zealous regulator: "We do not have guidelines for rapists, muggers and embezzlers, and I do not think we need guidelines for corporations who want to bribe foreign officials."



Gleesome threesome: Patriotic Front Leaders Mugabe (left) and Nkomo (right) with Zambia's President Kaunda in London

World

ZIMBABWE RHODESIA

"It Seems Like a Miracle"

An agreement on a transition plan raises fresh hope for a final settlement

The breakthrough came at 10:15 last Thursday morning. Its import was discreetly disguised by the dry language that negotiators use. "In the light of the discussions we have had," said Robert Mugabe, co-leader of the Patriotic Front, "if you are prepared to include [our] forces in paragraph 13 of the British paper, we are able to agree to the interim proposals." Impassively, British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington said that a sentence would be added to the paragraph in question: "The Patriotic Front Forces will be required to comply with the directions of the Governor."

With that, Lord Carrington's face broke into a broad grin. After ten weeks of touch-and-go negotiations at London's Lancaster House, Mugabe and his fellow guerrilla leader, Joshua Nkomo, had finally accepted a British-drafted plan for a transitional period leading to new elections and legal independence for the breakaway British colony. Endorsed two weeks ago by the biracial delegation of Salisbury's Prime Minister Abel Muzorewa, the plan will go into effect as soon as final agreement is reached on a cease-fire between the warring factions. At long last, an end to the seven-year-old civil war was definitely in sight. Said one senior British diplomat: "To those of us who have been trying to solve this problem for the past 14 years, it seems like a miracle."

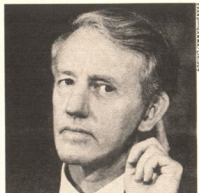
The miracle was the result of weeks of brinkmanship bargaining. Faced with Carrington's tough demand that they take

the plan or leave it, the Patriotic Front came under intense pressure from leaders of the front-line African states to give their assent. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who flew to London last week to confer with the guerrillas and with the Thatcher government, was instrumental in persuading the Front to accept a compromise. Mugabe and Nkomo dropped their original demands for a share of political power and the integration of their military forces with Salisbury's army during the transition period. In exchange, Carrington satisfied their longstanding insistence on "equal status" with the Salisbury forces by including the sentence that

the guerrillas would be subject to the orders of an interim British commander. Spokesmen for the Muzorewa delegation called the 15-word addendum a face-saving artifice to mask "a total capitulation by the Patriotic Front to the original British position." But the Front, according to a jubilant spokesman, took Carrington's statement to mean that "our forces now are lawful forces in the country. What more do we want?"

The new constitution eliminates most of the whites' entrenched privileges and reduces their guaranteed representation from 28 to 20 seats in Salisbury's 100-member Parliament. Moreover, Muzorewa's government is stepping down, and compensation for nationalized lands will be paid for out of an international fund. Partly at Kaunda's urging, Carrington last week even agreed to feed and house the guerrillas during the transition period.

But the cease-fire talks, which began last Friday, raised some divisive issues that could still spoil the conference. Carrington put forth a proposal that could stop the fighting in seven to ten days. It calls for the strict separation of the rival armies and the confining of the Patriotic Front forces to designated assembly points within the country. But the question of the guerrillas' exact legal standing during the cease-fire and election campaign, left ambiguous in the Carrington proposal, sparked a bitter verbal exchange between members of the rival delegations. Following the formal negotiat-



Former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith
"They're going to be part of the country."

ing session, Salisbury's military commander, Lieut. General Peter Walls, branded as "nonsense" the guerrillas' claim to equal status with his troops. "If anybody shoots at us," he warned ominously, "we will stop them from shooting any more." Front Spokesman Eddison Zvobgo angrily replied that "we are legal forces, we have equal status," and promised "severe retribution" against those who moved to deny that status.

Another source of friction concerns the time required to establish the ceasefire. Carrington feels it can be carried out in less than two weeks. But the Patriotic Front leaders insist they will need several months to get their supporters back into the country from their bases in Mozambique, Angola and Zambia. The guerrillas are rapidly infiltrating the country to improve their positions before the cease-fire takes effect. The Front now has an estimated 15,000 to 20,000 fighters within Zimbabwe Rhodesia's borders. Though British negotiators expect tough bargaining on this and other sticky points, they remain confident that a cease-fire agreement could be reached this week.

Once this is accomplished, a British Governor will fly to Salisbury to hoist the Union Jack and officially return the country to colonial status. The most likely candidate for that job appears to be Lord Soames, 59, a son-in-law of Winston Churchill's and a Minister Without Portfolio in the Thatcher government. The Governor will be accompanied by a staff of British civil servants, a small number of soldiers and a British police official, Sir James Houghton, who will oversee the Rhodesian police. A British election commissioner will organize the voting. Carrington also intends to establish a cease-fire commission on which the military commanders of both factions would be represented under the chairmanship of a British general. Elections will be held two months after the cease-fire takes effect, possibly as early as February.

News of last week's stunning breakthrough won near unanimous accolades for the man most responsible for pulling it off: Lord Carrington (see box). Paradoxically, no one greeted his accomplishment with more enthusiasm than the Rhodesian whites, whose privileges have been whittled away since the beginning of the Lancaster House talks. The prospect of peace, international recognition and an end to economic sanctions has turned all but a handful of Rhodesia's diehards into fans of Carrington's and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's. The Salisbury Parliament is scheduled to meet this week to vote the British-drafted constitution into law. Even Ian Smith's Rhodesia Front declared its support of the agreements.

The irony of the white about-face was reflected most strikingly, perhaps, in Smith's new conciliatory attitude. Speaking in Salisbury last week on the 14th anniversary of Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence, Smith astounded

Britain's Pragmatic Patrician

The man who is pulling the Rhodesian thorn from Britain's side once described himself as "a product of privilege." Indeed, Peter Alexander Rupert Carrington, 60, sixth Baron Carrington, "bears all the hallmarks of his patrician heritage: urbanity, erudition and an icy self-assurance sometimes bordering on arrogance. He has, says a friend, "that aristocratic, flippant manner that makes him free of inhibitions or a sense of inadequacy." Though he has never held elective office, the trim, impeccably tailored Carrington is regarded as a consummate politician. He has more governmental experience than anyone else in the Thatcher Cabinet—"more than all of us put together," says a colleague. It has often been said that Carrington could have occupied 10 Downing Street had he chosen to. In 1964 friends urged him to renounce his title in order to become eligible for election to the House of Commons and prime ministership. "Why should I want to be Prime Minister?" he replied. "I can imagine no more awful job."

What Carrington lacks in personal ambition is more than compensated for by the deep sense of *noblesse oblige* that has inspired his lifelong commitment to public service. Educated at Eton and Sandhurst, he won the Military Cross as an officer in the elite Grenadier Guards during World War II. An active member of the House of Lords since 1938, Carrington held government posts under Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden before being sent as High Commissioner to Australia in 1956. Three years later, he was named to the prestigious post of First Lord of the Admiralty. He served as Secretary of Defense and later was Secretary of Energy in the 1970-74 Tory government headed by Edward Heath. Carrington, who was also chairman of the Conservative Party at that time, earned the nickname of "Superhawk" by urging Heath to take a strong stand against the striking unions. It proved to be a disastrous strategy and helped pave the way for the Tories' 1974 electoral defeat. But the experience taught him some valuable political lessons in moderation and pragmatism.

Carrington is impatient with pomposity or snobbery. His sharp wit is tempered by a self-deprecating humor that allows him to make light of his 183-year-old title. "My name is Smith," he jokes; his family tree traces back to a banker named Tom Smith. The family seat is the Manor House, set in 800 acres near Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire; there Carrington indulges his passion for farming and landscape gardening.

Carrington has had little time for such pursuits since Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher named him Foreign Secretary last May. The two appear to work exceedingly well together, and the Foreign Secretary has emerged as one of her most influential Cabinet members. Shortly after settling into his Whitehall office, Carrington saved Thatcher from a colossal political blunder on the Rhodesian question by persuading her not to recognize the Muzorewa regime prematurely. After the Prime Minister rather coldly argued that Britain would not accept any Vietnamese "boat people" refugees, Carrington flew to Hong Kong to observe their plight for himself. When he returned to London, he demanded that the Prime Minister reverse her stand, which she did.

Not surprisingly, Carrington is beloved by the mandarins of the Foreign Office, who cordially disliked his abrasive Laborite predecessor, David Owen. One way that Carrington has earned their respect is by selling the Foreign Office views where they really count: in the Cabinet. Says one Tory colleague: "Nobody can challenge him on foreign policy; and that includes Margaret Thatcher." After his deft handling of the Zimbabwe Rhodesia talks, Carrington's reputation stands higher than ever. As Owen graciously put it last week: "He is the man who did it, and I congratulate him."

*The family name is spelled with only one r owing to an 18th century heraldic error.



Lord Carrington makes a point

World

ed many observers by stating, "You can't exclude [the Patriotic Front]. They're going to be part of the country." In an interview with *TIME's* Trevor Grundy, Smith expressed confidence that whites would survive and prosper under a new black regime, despite the militant, quasi-Marxist statements of the Patriotic Front. Said Smith: "The last thing [black politicians] want to do is to drive out the white farmer or the white man who wants to contribute to the economy."

The sudden shift is less a change of heart or mind in many cases than an anticipation of the economic boom it is hoped will come with peace and legality. There was a glimpse of the future when the Thatcher government last week allowed some of the sanctions to lapse; the remainder will almost certainly be lifted after the British Governor arrives in Salisbury. President Carter, meanwhile, declined to end U.S. sanctions immediately but broadly hinted that he would do so as soon as the Lancaster House Conference reaches a successful conclusion.

Some Rhodesian economists estimate that about \$2 billion could flow into the country within 13 months after the final lifting of sanctions. Local whites are now talking less of emigrating and more of enjoying the benefits of the anticipated economic boom. They are raising the prices of their elegant colonial houses once again after a prolonged slump. One example: a \$50,000 house in the Salisbury suburb of Highlands, whose value had dropped to \$30,000 within the past year, is now selling for \$60,000. But some whites take a dimmer view of the future. Says a Salisbury businessman: "The whites are living in a cuckoo land if they think nothing is going to change. The Patriotic Front has already held meetings with the East Germans on how the economy should be run."

Much of Rhodesia's economic future will depend on the political regime that emerges from the elections. With the whites assured of 20 seats, the crucial struggle will take place among the seven or so black factions vying for the remaining 80 seats. These parties are so deeply divided by tribal and personal differences that many observers fear no national leader will emerge and a shaky coalition is inevitable. "God help us if that happens," says a white trade unionist in Salisbury. "Can you imagine Nkomo, Mugabe and the bishop [Muzorewa] in the same Cabinet?"

In fact, that particular coalition is unlikely. Charges of nepotism and influence peddling by his government have tarnished the reputation of the bishop, who is thoroughly detested by the guerrilla leaders. But unless those leaders are willing to join with some moderate blacks in forming a new government, the result could be a mass exodus of panicked whites—or a brutal new civil war among tribal factions. ■

BRITAIN

Tinker, Tailor, Curator, Spy

Knighted art historian is exposed as a Soviet agent

For 15 years he had kept his guilty secret, with the help of successive British governments and possibly even Queen Elizabeth II. But early this month a new book by Journalist Andrew Boyle, *The Climate of Treason*, claimed that there had been a "fourth man" in the Burgess-Maclean-Philby spy ring of the 1940s and early 1950s. Boyle, who apparently drew heavily on sources formerly in the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, even hinted broadly at his name, prompting questions from Labor members in Parliament. Last week Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher replied with a written statement that essentially admitted it was all true. There

the U.S. and British atomic-bomb programs. What secrets Blunt gave to the Soviets is unknown. He had no access to classified information after 1945, but he stayed in touch with Soviet intelligence.

In 1951 Burgess and Maclean, who had been recalled to London, fled to Moscow. Twelve years later, the British government identified H.A.R. ("Kim") Philby, a diplomat-turned-journalist and fellow spy, as the "third man," who had tipped the two that they were about to be caught. Philby had by then followed Burgess and Maclean to Moscow. But Boyle claims that it was Blunt who was the tipster, phoning Burgess on May 25, 1951, a



Queen Elizabeth II with Sir Anthony Blunt, now known to be a spy, in 1959

Questions in Parliament led to the disclosure of a guilty secret.

had been a fourth spy, and he had confessed to British intelligence in 1964. He was Sir Anthony Blunt, an art historian who was knighted by the Queen in 1956 and had served as curator and adviser for the royal family's art collection for 33 years until his retirement in 1978.

The story began in the 1930s, when Blunt, now 72, was a Cambridge don. Recruited by Soviet intelligence, he served as a "talent spotter" who recommended Britons for spy work. Among them were Undergraduates Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean, who later passed secrets to the U.S.S.R. while working in the British embassy in Washington after World War II. Blunt, a Marxist, joined British intelligence in 1940 and, said Thatcher, became an active spy himself. He supplied information to the Soviets until 1945, when he became royal art curator.

Burgess, who dined with British Cabinet ministers, concentrated on political intelligence; Maclean was an expert on

Friday, to warn him that British authorities would begin interrogating Maclean the following Monday.

Why did Blunt confess in 1964? Boyle says he did it voluntarily, out of fear that he would be exposed. Then, says Boyle, the government voluntarily promised him immunity from prosecution—a clear implication that the British Establishment was covering up for one of its own.

Thatcher's version is different. According to her, British intelligence questioned Blunt eleven times between 1951 and 1964. In the initial investigation of Burgess and Maclean, said Thatcher, an unnamed source told the spy catchers that Maclean had said he was a "Comintern agent" as early as 1937 and that Blunt was one of his contacts. But the investigators could find no concrete evidence of treason, and finally decided that only an offer of immunity could induce Blunt to talk. The offer was made, Thatcher said. Blunt confessed and "subsequently provided useful

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mpg hwy mpg

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So if you know what you want in a sports car, and you don't want to pay a king's ransom to get it, look at the RX-7 GS or S Model.

You're also going to like the looks of RX-7 GS standard features.

- AM/FM stereo radio • 5-speed
- Steel-belted radial tires • Front and rear stabilizer bars • Ventilated front disc and finned rear drum brakes with power assist • Electric remote hatch release • Tinted glass
- Side-window demisters • Tachometer • Cut-pile carpeting. 3-speed automatic transmission, air conditioning, aluminum wheels and sunroof available as options.

**EPA estimates for comparison purposes for GS Model with 5-speed transmission. The mileage you get may vary depending on how fast you drive, the weather, and trip length. The actual highway mileage will probably be less. California, [16] estimated mpg, 27 estimated highway mpg. Mazda's rotary engine licensed by NSU-WANKEL.

RX-7 GS \$7995*





626 Sport Coupe \$5795*

Just one look is all it takes to know the incredible value of the 1980 Mazda 626 vs. Celica, Accord or Scirocco.

The Mazda 626. It has it all. Extraordinary performance, fine craftsmanship, high fuel efficiency and clean, aerodynamic styling.

The 626's engineering refinements are many. And extremely well thought out. The 626 is a very quick (0-50 in 9.8 seconds), highly maneuverable automobile.

24 EST. **33** EST.**
mpg hwy mpg

Both the 626 Sport Coupe and Sport Sedan offer creature comforts and conveniences found on much more expensive cars. And the 626 provides a generous amount of interior room and

luggage capacity.

In short, you do owe it to yourself to look at a Mazda 626 before you buy any sport coupe or sport sedan. And the more you look, the more you like.

A short look at the Mazda 626's long list of standard features.

• 2.0 litre overhead cam 4-cylinder engine • Power-assisted front disc



brakes • Steel-belted radial tires • 5-speed overdrive transmission (3-speed automatic optional) • AM/ FM stereo radio • 60/40 split fold-down rear seat back • Driver's reclining bucket seat with adjustable lumbar support • Electric remote trunk lid release • Front stabilizer bar • Tinted glass • Rear window defroster • Reminder chime for headlights left on • Visor vanity mirror • Heater duct for rear-seat passengers. Sport Coupe only—Rear stabilizer bar • Electronic check panel • Tachometer • Electric remote control for door mirror.

*Manufacturer's suggested retail prices. RX-7, 5-Door GLC Custom, B2000 Sun-downer slightly higher in California. Actual prices established by dealers. Taxes, license, freight, optional equipment and any other dealer charges are extra. Wide alloy wheels shown extra: 626 Coupe \$340, RX-7 \$275-\$295. All prices subject to change without notice.

626 Sport Sedan \$5495*





3-Door GLC Custom \$3995*

Just one look is all it takes to see the great value of the 1980 Mazda GLC vs. Rabbit, Chevette or Civic.

The Mazda GLC. One look at the price after one look at the car is enough to change how you look at any economy car. You may find yourself measuring other cars in GLC's class by GLC standards.

The new 3-door GLC Custom hatchback comes with features you'd think cost extra. Which is no surprise, really, because the GLC is an uncommon economy car.

29 EST. **39** EST.**
mpg mpg hwy mpg

The whole idea of the GLC, you see, is that it refuses to sacrifice one quality for another. It blends great fuel economy with

great versatility, superior performance and clean design.

So if buying an economy car makes sense to you, doesn't it make even more sense to get the most economy car for your money? Take a look at the Mazda GLC family today—3-door Hatchback, 5-door Hatchback, Wagon and Sport.



The more you look at GLC Custom standard features, the more value you see.

- Reclining front bucket seats • Versatile split fold-down rear seat that accommodates people, or packages, or both • Tinted glass
 - Power-assisted front disc brakes
 - White-line tires • 1.4 litre overhead cam 4-cylinder engine
 - Electric rear-window defroster
 - Woodgrain instrument panel.
- Options on GLC Custom include 5-speed (standard on 5-door Hatchback in California), 3-speed automatic and Convenience Group.

**EPA estimates for comparison purposes. The mileage you get may vary depending on how fast you drive, the weather, and trip length. The actual highway mileage will probably be less. GLC estimates apply to all GLC models with 4-speed transmission. GLC Sport with 5-speed, [30] estimated mpg, 42 estimated highway mpg.



GLC Custom Wagon \$4445*

5-Door GLC Custom \$4195*

GLC Sport \$4695*



Just one look is all it takes to realize the remarkable value of the 1980 Mazda B2000 Sundowner vs. Toyota SR5 or Datsun King Cab.

For the money, this Mazda B2000 Sundowner is one incredible truck. Because of what you get for the money.

Here's a truck that doesn't drink much gas, but performs like a real winner. One that's built beefy and tough on the outside, but surrounds you with luxury on the inside. One that's got a 5-speed and a seven-foot long bed.

27 EST. **37** EST.**
mpg hwy mpg

Sundowner gives you a whole lot more than just the things you

naturally expect of a truck. (Like the room and ruggedness to haul cargo around.) A whole lot of truck for not a whole lot of money.

B2000 Sundowner standard features. Lookin' good.

- White-line tires • Cut-pile carpeting • Tinted glass • Deluxe deep-foam bench seat • Woodgrain instrument panel and door trim
- Vent windows • White spoker wheel covers • Sporty Sundowner



stripes • 2.0 litre 4-cylinder OHC engine • Independent double-wishbone front suspension with coil springs • Semi-elliptic rear leaf springs plus four double-acting shocks • Recirculating ball-and-nut type steering • Power-assisted front disc brakes • Center-lift tailgate release • Day/night rear-view mirror.

**EPA estimates for comparison purposes. The mileage you get may vary depending on how fast you drive, the weather, and trip length. The actual highway mileage will probably be less. California, [26] estimated mpg, 35 estimated highway mpg.

mazda
The more you look,
the more you like.



B2000 Sundowner \$5195*

World

information about Russian intelligence activities." The Queen's private secretary was informed that Blunt had been a Soviet spy, but Blunt was neither exposed nor required to resign as curator. Thatcher's explanation: the position was unpaid, "it carried with it no access to classified information and no risk to security, and the security authorities thought it desirable not to put at risk his cooperation."

But before Thatcher made that public statement, an official of the Cabinet Office discreetly warned Blunt of the impending disclosures and the erstwhile curator immediately vanished from his London flat. "The situation is quite scandalous," declared Labor M.P. James Wellbeloved. The Prime Minister's spokesman replied that the warning was a "common courtesy" and denied that Blunt was a fugitive from justice. Though the Queen stripped him of his knighthood last week, he apparently will incur no other punishment. Reflecting widespread public indignation over the incident, the *Guardian* charged that the cover-up by successive governments was "a totally abject recital of official self-protection and dishonesty."

The cover-up seems to have gone amazingly far. Lord Home, Tory Prime Minister in 1964, insisted he had never been told about Blunt's confession, prompting some Laborites to ask whether the intelligence services had kept the official government in the dark. If so it presumably was not a problem only for Tories; certainly top security officers in the Labor governments of Harold Wilson knew about Blunt. Another question was whether the Queen herself had ever been informed—and why Buckingham Palace had not been warned much earlier than 1964, since Blunt had been under suspicion as early as 1951, five years before he was knighted.

The final question was voiced by the *Daily Express*: "How many more spies are there?" Boyle claims there was a "fifth man" and hints that he was Physicist Wilfrid Basil Mann, who was an attaché in the British embassy in Washington from 1948 to 1951 and is now a senior physicist at the National Bureau of Standards in Gaithersburg, Md. Boyle says the fifth man passed atomic-bomb secrets to the Soviet Union, but was trapped by then CIA Agent James Jesus Angleton and turned into a double agent. Angleton will not talk, and Mann told the *London Daily Telegraph*, "The whole thing is completely false."

Boyle told a press conference last week that Burgess and Maclean had as many as 25 accomplices, of whom "half a dozen are walking free. One or two still are in influential positions, but I think they have long ago been neutralized." Laborites are pressing for a full-scale parliamentary debate this week on the Blunt affair and the whole subject of espionage; if it is held, Mrs. Thatcher will have many more questions to answer. ■

ISRAEL

Misquoted on a Massacre

West Bank mayors resign over losing one of their own



Nabulis' Bassam Shaka'a being mobbed by student supporters in his home town

Accustomed though they are to high-voltage political shocks, Israelis must have found last week unusually electrifying. Premier Menachem Begin's coalition lost a crucial vote in the Knesset, thereby threatening a defection that could reduce his government's majority to two. Faced with protests by fanatic nationalists over the court-ordered evacuation of a Jewish settlement at Elon Moreh, the Cabinet unanimously voted to forge ahead with new settlements in the West Bank. But the most powerful jolt of the week was a Cabinet decision approving the deportation of the Palestinian mayor of the West Bank city of Nablus. The move prompted the resignations of 27 Arab mayors in the occupied territories and set off strikes and rallies by Palestinians.

That last shock, which led to a dramatic demonstration of how hateful the Israeli occupation is to West Bankers, could easily have been avoided. Two weeks ago Israeli General Danny Matt, the military administrator of the occupied territories, called Nablus Mayor Bassam Shaka'a, 48, into his office for a chat. Next day the Tel Aviv daily *Ha'aretz* published a partial account of the purported conversation; according to the newspaper version, Shaka'a implied that he approved of a 1978 bus attack by Palestinian terrorists in which 34 Israelis were killed.

Knesset members were outraged. After meeting with Begin, Defense Minister Ezer Weizman, who is Matt's superior, announced that Shaka'a would be deported to Jordan. Shaka'a's wife, however, managed to block the expulsion by winning an interim injunction from a justice of the Israeli Supreme Court. Weizman then ordered Shaka'a arrested and

jailed until the court hearings.

When 13 West Bank mayors submitted their resignations in protest, Weizman began to have second thoughts. After reading a transcript of Shaka'a's talk with Matt, he concluded that the Nablus mayor had been unfairly misquoted as defending the massacre. But at a Cabinet meeting next day, Weizman stood by his original decision and urged the ministers to approve the deportation of Shaka'a. They did so unanimously. Except for one town leader in Gaza, all the remaining Palestinian mayors immediately resigned and later announced, for good measure, that they would begin a hunger strike. Many Israeli moderates were embarrassed by the Cabinet decision, believing it to be an exaggerated and heavyhanded response to a minor incident.

The mayors believe that Shaka'a's expulsion is part of an Israeli campaign to silence them and other Palestinian opponents of Begin's plan for limited Arab autonomy in the occupied territories. Charged Karim Khalaf, resigned mayor of Ramallah: "This is an Israeli attempt to liquidate the Palestinian problem." For their part, Israeli officials were not necessarily sorry to see the West Bank mayors quit. Many of them are regarded by the Israelis as sympathizers of the hated Palestine Liberation Organization. Government officials resent both the mayors' vociferous opposition to Begin's autonomy scheme and their constant condemnation of the Israeli occupation, especially on trips abroad. Also, the mayors' preoccupation with politics left them little time to do their job of supervising municipal services—a complaint with which many Palestinians privately agree.

World

The chances are, though, that more trouble lies ahead on the West Bank. If the Israeli government accepts the resignations, it will then be compelled to appoint military officers to administer services for the Palestinian towns. The Israelis of course could reject the resignations, but the mayors would most probably refuse to perform their duties. In this case, military officers would still have to be called upon.

Byond that, the Palestinians were infuriated by last week's Israeli Cabinet decision to establish 19 new settlements and convert twelve *nahal* (military) outposts into Jewish civilian communities in the West Bank. That move was patently designed to placate the ultranationalist *Gush Emunim* (Group of the Faithful). Last month the Israeli Supreme Court ordered the *Gush Emunim* settlement at Elon Moreh evacuated because it was not, as the government had claimed, essential for defense purposes. "Elon Moreh is more than a crisis for the Prime Minister," explains an aide. "He's afraid of the possibility of armed resistance by the *Gush Emunim*. He fears it could start a civil war."

Begin and his Cabinet colleagues seemed less concerned about the impact of the settlement decision on the continuing autonomy talks with Egypt. Last week, just before an Egyptian delegation arrived in Tel Aviv for further talks, Premier Mustafa Khalil denounced the new settlement plan as "provocative." The Israelis, however, chose to ignore his verbal attack and listened instead to Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's assertion that the move would not halt negotiations. Said a Begin aide: "We think Sadat understands us." Whether or not that is the case, the Egyptian President may have had some reason for soft-pedaling any criticism: last week Israel returned territory that included Mount Sinai and its historic St. Catherine's monastery to Egyptian sovereignty more than two months earlier than scheduled.*

Perhaps because his thoughts dwelled so much on the West Bank last week, Begin seemed strangely impervious to his coalition's defeat in the Knesset over an amendment to the country's abortion law. Agudat Israel, an orthodox religious party, had joined the Begin bloc in exchange for the Premier's support of its campaign to limit abortions. A motion to tighten the country's laws on the matter was defeated in a tie vote, 54-54, when four members of Begin's own Likud Party voted against it. Agudat Israel huffed that its four Knesset members might desert the coalition, thus leaving Begin with a precarious two-vote majority in the 120-seat house. It is a sign of the Begin coalition's failing fortunes that after his election two years ago the Prime Minister enjoyed a comfortable majority of 17.

*Mount Sinai is traditionally regarded as the site where Moses received the Ten Commandments.

CHINA

"We Cannot Be Softhearted"

Peking cracks down on its domestic critics

At Peking's famed "democracy wall" last week, a group of young people were selling transcripts of the trial of China's leading dissident, Wei Jingsheng, 29. He had been sentenced to 15 years in prison last month on charges of counterrevolutionary activity, and passing military data to foreigners. Suddenly, about 50 uniformed security policemen swooped down on the crowd of several hundred people gathered at the wall. Scuffling with foreign observers at the scene the police confiscated about 500 copies of the trial transcript and arrested three would-be buyers and a man who was helping sell copies of the underground journal called *April Fifth Forum* that had published the transcript. When a *Forum* editor, Liu Qing, went to the police station to inquire after the imprisoned men, he too was arrested.

Since March, between 30 and 40 dissidents have been arrested in a rather clumsy campaign by Chinese security officials to crack down on a small but vocal free speech movement that was encouraged inadvertently by Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping. A year ago, Deng declared: "If the masses feel some anger, we must let them express it." Since then, to the dismay of China's leadership, dissidents have pasted up posters on democracy wall bluntly attacking the authoritarianism of the regime. New underground magazines have sprung up; they contain detailed reports on the horrendous conditions in Chinese prisons as well as sharply worded demands for human rights.

Three days before the incident at democracy wall, Liu had told TIME Correspondent Richard Bernstein in Peking that he was morally prepared for arrest. Speaking for himself and the other editors

of his magazine, Liu said, "We recognize that to achieve democracy, we will have to make some sacrifices—of blood, even of our lives. But we are ready to sacrifice for the sake of changing China." *April Fifth Forum*, which Liu had helped found, was named for the 1976 demonstration in Peking's Tiananmen Square when hundreds of people seeking to honor the late Premier Chou En-lai were arrested and beaten by police. More moderate than the editors of some other underground journals, Liu and his colleagues believed that socialism is the appropriate system for



Dissident duplicating trial transcript



Passersby reading poster that commemorates first anniversary of democracy wall
Sharp demands for human rights and blunt attacks on an authoritarian regime.

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Kool Milds	14	0.9
Marlboro Lights	12	0.8
Merit	8	0.6
Merit Menthol	8	0.6

	Tar mg./cig.	Nicotine mg./cig.
Salem Lights	10	0.8
Vantage	11	0.8
Vantage Menthol	11	0.8
Winston Lights	13	0.9

Of all brands, lowest...

Carlton Box: less than 0.5 mg. tar
and 0.05 mg. nicotine av. per
cigarette, FTC Report May '78.

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Carlton Soft Pack	1	0.1
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1 mg. tar,
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Box: Less than 0.5 mg. "tar", 0.05 mg. nicotine; Soft Pack and Menthol: 1 mg. "tar", 0.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report May '78

World

China, but argue that Peking's brand of Marxism is not "true socialism."

The *Forum* editors' decision to distribute the text of the Wei trial spelled their downfall. After obtaining a tape recording of the 5½-hour proceedings, they first posted a transcript on democracy wall where it was read by thousands of people during the next three weeks. This limited access to the transcript was tolerated. But when it went on sale at 17¢ a copy the authorities evidently felt that they could not risk having it circulate throughout China. Wei, who had conducted his own defense at his trial, charged that China had scarcely changed since the ouster of the Gang of Four, led by Mao's widow Jiang Qing (Chiang Ch'ing). A former Red Guard who has become an impassioned proponent of democracy, Wei ridiculed the accusation of counterrevolutionary activity leveled against him and other dissidents: "It is revolutionary to act in accordance with the will of the people in power and counterrevolutionary to oppose the will of the people in power."

Last week's arrests, like Wei's trial, were violations in spirit of the much touted restoration of the rule of law in China, which includes a guarantee of open trials where the accused's rights are to be fully respected. After the *Forum* editor was imprisoned, police claimed that it was a crime to sell a trial transcript without court authorization, even though Wei's trial had theoretically been open to everyone. In fact, it had been closed to his relatives, friends and to the foreign press; tickets had been distributed to factory workers who had not even asked to attend.

The Peking government's violent response to a few hundred young activists may have been sparked by fear that their views are shared by millions of educated young people in China who have thus far only dared to dream or to whisper of their desires for freedom. Many of these educated youths seem to believe that for China to become a truly modern country with what Chairman Hua Guofeng has

called "liveliness of mind," democratic rights are not a luxury but a necessity. In one of its issues, the *April Fifth Forum* asked: "Why have Chinese in China demonstrated so few accomplishments while they win Nobel Prizes once they go abroad?" The *Forum's* answer: "The development of science requires a definite kind of soil, and that soil is democracy."

Within days of the editor's imprisonment, a new edition of *Forum* appeared that criticized the "rude arrests" at democracy wall. The magazine's re-emergence testified to the gritty capacity for survival of the human rights movement. Nonetheless, further arrests may be in the offing. Last week a leading Communist Party newspaper, the *Shanghai Liberation Daily*, warned: "A very small group of counterrevolutionaries has been poisoning people's minds. Those that should be arrested must be arrested. Those that should be sentenced must be sentenced. Those that should be killed must be killed. We cannot be softened in this matter." ■



Masked policeman directs traffic



The flames of burning chemicals at derailed train in Mississauga, Ontario

Fear of a Deadly Fog

"It came across the low-lying fields as a drifting fog that some men saw as gray, some as yellow, some as green." Thus did Historian Ralph Allen describe the deadly mist of chlorine gas that ravaged the Canadian First Division at Ypres in 1915. Last week, as Canada celebrated Remembrance Day—the 61st anniversary of the end of World War I—fear of another kind of chlorine gas attack forced the evacuation of Mississauga, Ont. (pop. 276,000).

Shortly before midnight on Nov. 10, tankers on a 106-car Canadian Pacific freight train, bound from Windsor to Toronto, jumped the tracks. Three explosions from cars carry-

ing propane sent flames that towered into the sky and rattled windows 30 miles away. Firemen at the scene sniffed acrid fumes leaking from one tanker that contained 81 tons of liquefied chlorine; if that car exploded, its contents could turn into a modern equivalent of the deadly fog at Ypres. Within hours, provincial authorities ordered the largest evacuation in Canadian history; with surpassing smoothness, and little panic, most of the city's inhabitants moved to temporary quarters in auditoriums, school halls and churches in the Toronto area. At week's end, a leak in the chlorine tanker had been patched and all of Mississauga's citizens had returned, albeit nervously, to their homes. Proud of her people's calm response to the emergency, Mayor Hazel McCallion said: "There wasn't a bit of trouble."

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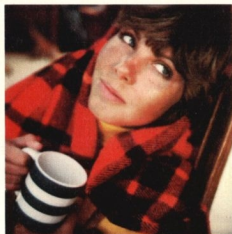
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Environment



A Gloucester fishing boat heads onto Georges Bank for haddock

Georges Bank: Fish or Fuel?

Oil companies win the battle to drill off Massachusetts

Fishermen have always called it Georges Bank. The origin of its name is obscure, possibly tracing to one of the British kings of colonial times. But its status is clear: it is one of the richest fishing grounds in the world. Located in a West Virginia-sized patch of the Atlantic continental shelf, it harbors a cornucopia of yellowtail, cod and haddock, lobsters and scallops, swordfish and squid—some 200 species in all. Supporting a \$1 billion a year fishing industry, it provides 17% of America's saltwater catch, 14% of the world's.

Georges Bank may have another natural resource: oil. That has put it at the center of a bitter legal campaign between the U.S. Department of the Interior, which wants to lease drilling rights to private oil companies, and an alliance of fishermen, environmentalists, and the Attorney General of Massachusetts, who fear an oil spill that could devastate the area. Now the pro-oil forces have swept away a major legal roadblock. Barring a successful new attack by the fishing group, the leases will be auctioned off Dec. 18 at a hotel in Providence, R.I.

For all the courtroom arguments in favor of drilling, no one knows how much oil can really be tapped from the shoals of Georges Bank. But even oil industry experts admit that the yield from the tracts to be auctioned will probably be far less than from Alaska's Prudhoe Bay or the Gulf of Mexico. Best guess: 123 million barrels over the 20-year lease period. Brought up in a single haul, that would provide the U.S. with only about one week's supply of oil. If not oil, then natural gas could be drawn from Georges

Bank. But the estimated yield of 870 billion cu. ft. over 20 years is paltry compared with the 19.3 trillion cu. ft. now used annually in the U.S. The retort by oil advocates, of course, is that in an energy crisis any possible sources should be explored.

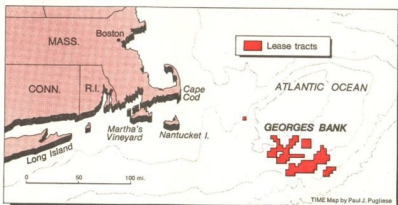
Yet the potential havoc of an oil spill on Georges Bank is considerably greater than at other drilling sites. Attorney Douglas Foy of the Conservation Law Foundation in Boston predicted in court that at least one major spill would occur over 20 years. Worse yet, warned Foy, would be the almost continuous discharges from day-to-day operations. Adds Biologist Howard Sanders of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution: "There is a very real danger to Georges Bank fish from low-level chronic pollution."

Not every scientist agrees. Says John Ryther, another Woods Hole biologist: "I

don't believe drilling will cause mass mortalities of fish." The Government maintains that the leases cover no spawning grounds on Georges Bank, and that the prevailing currents could easily sweep an oil slick to sea. Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus notes that of 292 million bbl. of oil produced last year from offshore U.S. wells, only two spills exceeded 50 bbl., the largest losing only 135 bbl. Besides, the oil revenues that could be realized even from a small reserve at Georges Bank are hard to turn down. Two decades of fishing might be worth \$3.3 billion. Two decades of oil should earn about \$7 billion at current prices. President Carter, whose standing among environmentalists dropped last month when he signed legislation to complete Tennessee's Tellico Dam, has quietly come out in favor of the drilling.

But drilling obviously poses a considerable risk to a rare and important ecosystem with a resource that, unlike oil, is renewable. Twelve thousand years ago, Georges Bank was dry land at the end of a glacier. It is still as shallow as nine feet in parts, and 300 feet at its deepest; one fisherman's tale has it that a ship's crew was able to play baseball on a shoal after a storm. The Gulf Stream and the Labrador Current converge at the site and circulate a hearty brew of nutrients on which plankton thrive and proliferate. Fish in turn feed on the plankton and spawn seasonally in the shoals, coming from as far north as the Arctic, as far south as the Carolina coast.

For the fishermen, whose families have worked these waters for 350 years, all this makes Georges Bank far too precious a place to sink an oil well. Another appeal has been filed to stop the auction, though its chances seem slim. If the leases are sold, the fishermen will have a grace period of from six months to a year while the oil companies make preparations to drill. That means time for a new and different case on different grounds. But the fishermen's hope will be the same: to keep their livelihood alive and well.



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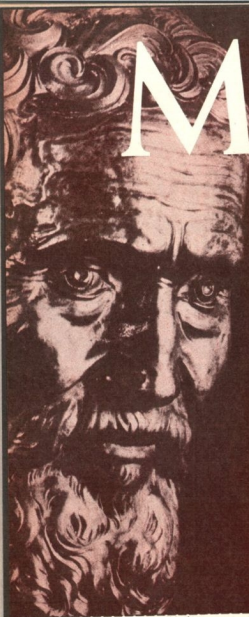
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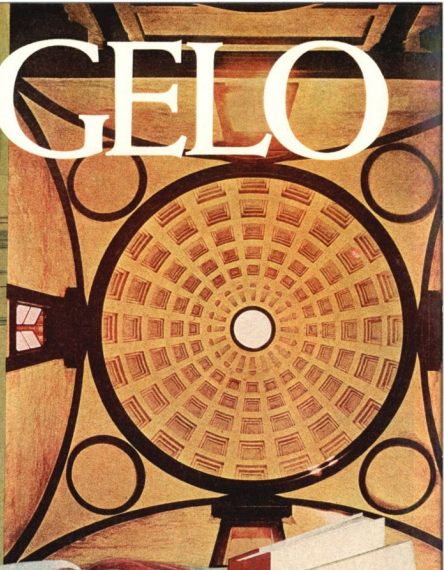
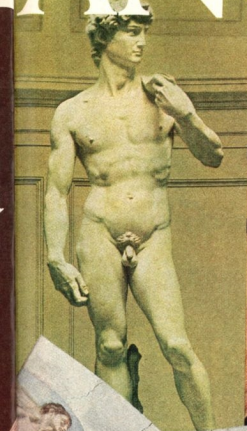
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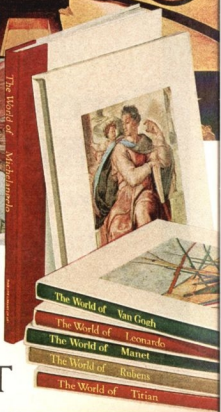


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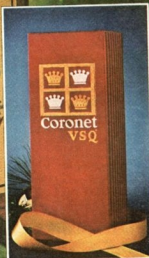
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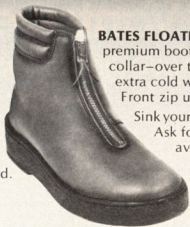
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Religion

Printed to Last

Twelve books out of 15,000

Over the past ten years an estimated 15,000 new religious books have been published. The liberal Protestant weekly *Christian Century* asked 89 of its scholarly reviewers which titles from the 1970s "most deserve to survive." Last week it offered their top-of-the-decade choices in order of votes received:

A Religious History of the American People by Sydney E. Ahlstrom (Yale, 1972). From the Puritans to the present, this book is a Lutheran historian's lucid, thorough survey of the progress of faith in a religiously complex nation.

On Being a Christian by Hans Küng (Doubleday, 1976). A work of fairly serious theology that became a big seller, this book by Küng, liberal Swiss priest and thorn in the side of the Vatican, offers a revisionist review of such Christian dogmas as the Resurrection.

The Denial of Death by Ernest Becker (Free Press, 1973). Anxiety over death, not over sex, Anthropologist Becker decided, is the prime trouble of mankind. An unconventionally religious book that

won a Pulitzer Prize shortly after the author died of cancer.

The Crucified God by Jürgen Moltmann (Harper & Row, 1974). A leading German Protestant theologian probes the central Christian paradox, God's identification with man through Christ's suffering on the Cross.

The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine by Jaroslav Pelikan (Univ. of Chicago, 3 vols.). Another Lutheran's modern classic in an old-fashioned field; heavily documented, remarkably readable.

A Theology of Liberation by Gustavo Gutiérrez (Orbis, 1973). A Peruvian priest's synthesis of Christ and Marx, this book is a bible for a generation of Third World theorists.

The Habit of Being by Flannery O'Connor (Farrar Straus & Giroux, 1979). Letters of one of America's finest writers, who died in 1964, at age 39; the text is firm about Roman Catholicism, refreshingly short on self-pity about the disease that crippled her—and characteristically precise of mind and heart.

The Birth of the Messiah by Raymond E. Brown (Doubleday, 1977). A top Cath-

olic New Testament expert's close analysis of the story of Jesus' birth in *Matthew* and *Luke*, with some surprises, e.g., he doubts Jesus was born in Bethlehem.

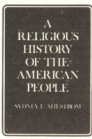
Karl Barth: His Life from Letters and Autobiographical Texts by Eberhard Busch (Fortress, 1976). A colleague's intimate biography of the courageous polymath who was this century's leading Protestant theologian.

Brother to a Dragonfly by Will D. Campbell (Seabury, 1977). "We're all bastards but God loves us anyway," Campbell says, and his memoir is a beguiling personal sermon on the same topic.

Profiles in Belief by Arthur C. Piepkorn (Harper & Row, 4 vols.). When all seven volumes are out, the late Lutheran theologian will have described exactly and

elegantly the tenets of 735 different U.S. faiths.

Jesus: An Experiment in Christology by Edward Schillebeeckx (Seabury, 1979). A study of Jesus by a leader in Dutch Catholic theology whose doubts and questions about the nature of Christ's divinity and Resurrection have stirred the Vatican's disapproval. ■



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Economy & Business

A Bit of Good Energy News

The President's program makes progress, but more action may be needed

For Jimmy Carter, happy news on energy is about as rare as a drunk at Sunday school. But now from Congress come some welcome tidings to mix with all the bad reports out of Iran and the other oil-producing countries. The key energy recommendations made after the President's eleven-day retreat at Camp David last July should be signed into law within a few weeks. While this action will not forestall another price increase when OPEC meets next month in Caracas, it represents the most serious step taken to deal with the nation's energy woes since the oil crisis exploded in 1973.

The House and Senate have already passed by large margins two of the three major Carter recommendations, and will soon begin working out minor differences before sending the legislation to the White House. One act would create an Energy Mobilization Board, which would be able to bulldoze through bureaucratic red tape, legal roadblocks and laws, like the Clean Air Act, that now delay refineries, pipelines and other energy projects. The board would have the power to make some decisions for federal, state or local agencies that were delaying needed developments. The House-passed bill goes further than Carter proposed and gives the board power even to overturn federal laws, although state and local ones remain outside its domain. Arizona Democrat Morris Udall and other Capitol Hill environmentalists feared that the new agency might repeal two decades of antipollution crusades. But a strong coalition demanding an end to energy delays resisted substantial weakening of the new body's authority.

On the other hand, Congress has decided to go more slowly than the President wanted in developing synthetic gas or oil from coal, shale and tar sands. In July Carter suggested spending \$88 billion over the next decade to build some 40 synthetic fuel plants. But three Senate consultants concluded that such a program would be too much, too fast, and waste billions of dollars. As a result, the Senate this month passed a more modest \$20 billion bill that will offer loans and price guarantees over the next five years to private companies to open perhaps a dozen commercial synthetic fuel plants. The House passed a smaller synfuels program in early summer but is expected to accept the Senate's larger bill with minor reservations. In 1985 Congress will re-examine synthetic fuel development and decide whether the new technol-

ogy's progress merits the additional \$68 billion investment that Carter proposed.

With the two bills now virtually wrapped up, the Senate also began debate last week on the toughest Carter proposal: a new tax on extra profits that U.S. oil companies could make from OPEC price increases. Because the price of American petroleum has been controlled by Washington since 1973, most domestic oil sells for only about half as much as OPEC crude. To encourage both conservation and exploration, the President proposed raising U.S. prices to world levels. But he linked that measure to an additional 50% tax on the oil companies' so-called windfall profits. Under Carter's recommendation, energy companies would pay \$291 billion in extra taxes over the next decade.

Last summer the House easily passed a bill very close to the President's request. But oil producers traditionally have more friends in the Senate than in the House, and the Senate is debating a bill passed by its Finance Committee that would levy "only" \$138 billion in new taxes. Administration lobbyists are now try-

ing to increase the bite on energy companies to \$242 billion. A new report from the Congressional Budget Office, headed by Democratic Economist Alice Rivlin, concluded that such action would enrich the Treasury but result in less oil for the country. The study showed that domestic oil production in 1990 under the tough House tax would be 7.1 million bbl. per day, while it would be 7.6 million with the lighter Senate bill and 7.9 million with no tax at all. Lower taxes encourage more drilling by offering the incentive of a larger jackpot to wildcaters finding oil or gas.

Although he philosophically opposes any windfall levy, Louisiana's Russell Long, the Finance Committee chairman who is the floor leader of the Senate debate, says the tax is the political cost that the energy industry must pay in order to end crude oil controls. Long, who himself has extensive oil holdings, argues further that the nation can no longer afford a witch hunt against the petroleum companies. Last week he told a cheering Manhattan meeting of energy producers: "Those who defame us, curse us, abuse us and lie about us, would be in one hell of a fix without us." The Senate is expected to pass a windfall profits tax in early December, probably about \$200 billion, and the final bill should be ready for the President's signature by Christmas.

The Iranian oil cutoff and ever higher OPEC prices have raised the possibility of still further energy action. "It is clear that we must embark on new initiatives in all sectors and rethink what is possible," says Deputy Energy Secretary John Sawhill. He adds that the Administration is considering ways to boost gasoline production, force utilities to use more coal and other oil conservation measures. Such proposals would save as much as 600,000 bbl. of oil per day; up to now, the U.S. has been importing some 700,000 bbl. daily from Iran.

Both the Administration and Congress remain reluctant to roll out the two Big Berthas of energy conservation: a stiff new gasoline tax and rationing. The White House so far has not supported the proposal by Anti-Inflation Adviser Alfred Kahn for a 50¢ per gal. tax. Even Connecticut Democrat Toby Moffett, a former rationing advocate, now concludes that that step "should be the last resort."

But if plaintive appeals from Washington to "drive three miles a day less" go unheeded, the nation may be forced to begin considering such Stygian last resorts.

CHOICES FOR CONGRESS

Projected domestic oil production in 1990 in millions of bbl. per day

7.92 If there is no windfall profits tax*

7.63 If Senate Finance Committee tax plan is adopted*

7.08 If House-approved tax plan is adopted*

6.75 If price controls are continued

*Declassified prices

Source: Congressional Budget Office

TIME Chart by Nigel Holmes



As they go after more gas, workers change a drill collar on a rig near Elk City, Okla.

Searching, Searching for Oil

Strippers take off because crude really pays

Shout against the windfall profits tax, oilmen tirelessly contend that higher earnings will motivate them to search harder for oil and gas. Sure enough, as oil profits have marched up this year, so has domestic exploration. Steel drilling rigs, eight and ten stories high, are rising at muddy, cluttered sites from the Rocky Mountain foothills to Louisiana's Cajun country. Although domestic production is not expected to rise in years ahead, the new activity will keep it higher than it otherwise might have been. And there is always the possibility, however slight, that oilmen may get lucky and strike another Spindletop or Prudhoe Bay.

Since last spring, the number of drilling rigs at work in the U.S. has jumped from 1,929 to 2,434. That is more than the 21-year high of 2,385 in October of last year. The count could climb to close to 2,600 in December.

The steep rise follows an unexpectedly sharp decline earlier this year. Then, the major oil companies and the nation's 12,000 independent smaller operators, who account for about 80% of all drilling, were putting off new exploration. Major reason: uncertainty over the decontrol of oil prices and new natural gas pricing regulations. The turning point came in June when crude began to be decontrolled. Oil from wells "newly discovered" after Jan. 1, 1979, began to sell at \$28.81 per bbl. delivered to the refinery, rather than the artificially controlled price of \$13.86. The additional oil from older wells produced by "enhanced recovery" methods, like the injection of steam or chemicals, was also decontrolled.

Gas exploration began to rise at about the same time, as producers finally started to figure out where they stood with the

complicated Natural Gas Policy Act, passed in October 1978. It created whole new categories for natural gas and raised ceiling prices on some of them. The category of each well had to be determined by federal and state inspectors, and there were long delays as gasmen waited to find out what prices they could charge. The average price that interstate pipeline companies paid rose to \$1.20 per 1,000 cu. ft. in August, from 91¢ ten months earlier.

Higher prices have persuaded oilmen to return to and redrill wells in the Williston Basin of North Dakota and eastern Montana, an important producing area in the 1950s. They are also exploring for oil in the Overthrust Belt, which runs down the Rocky Mountains, and they are going after gas in Oklahoma, the Texas Panhandle and central Louisiana. Across the country, small "stripper" wells and others that once would have been abandoned as uneconomic are being kept open.

Another spur is that profits of ten of the largest oil companies increased an average of 94% in this year's third quarter, and managers have attempted to divert public criticism by pumping up exploration budgets. A number of independents are still holding back until the windfall profits tax reaches final form. The Senate has proposed that newly discovered oil and certain categories of low-volume wells be exempt. Some oilmen hope that the first 1,000 bbl. per day from an independent producer's well will be free from the tax. Says Jack Allen, president of the Independent Petroleum Association of America: "That would really set off a wave of drilling. It would be the greatest drilling boom ever." ■

Motown's Blues

Some billion-dollar losses

The fashion industry has flourished for decades by staying ahead, periodically changing styles to shorten hems or narrow lapels. But Detroit's automakers are sinking knee-deep into red ink, as energy-conscious buyers increasingly switch their taste in cars to lighter, fuel-efficient models. Surprised by the speed of that change, manufacturers cannot turn out enough small autos to satisfy public demand, while outmoded big cars gather dust in dealer back lots. As a result, in the first ten days of November, Big Three sales plummeted 26% from last year's levels.

The most shocking news comes from Ford Motor's upper reaches, where glum executives are circulating a confidential memo projecting that the firm will lose just over \$1 billion on its North American auto operations this year and probably the same in 1980. The estimated losses had been raised by \$160 million in just the past few weeks. Ford will stay in the black only because of its healthy foreign and nonautomotive business, but in the auto trade at home, it is losing almost as much as Chrysler.

The memo suggests that Ford might increase profits by loading well-selling models like the subcompact Fiesta and Courier minitruck with expensive options that customers would be forced to accept, and putting on less costly tires. Ford is also attacking internal costs by cutting executive business travel by 50% and symbolically dropping free coffee at company business events and eliminating all magazine subscriptions.

Other automakers are also doing poorly. Leading Detroit's bad news bears again is Chrysler. Fears of buying a car from a company that may go bankrupt and a temporary halt in the rebate campaign combined to sink sales by 44.5% in early November. Chrysler has yard-long waiting lists for the popular front-wheel-drive Omni and Horizon models but cannot make them fast enough.

Meanwhile, Chrysler's rescue plans move sluggishly. Under the Government's \$1.5 billion loan guarantee plan, the company must come up with an equal amount of outside help. But banks are showing reluctance to sink more money into the troubled company. Chrysler thus last week was asked by the Government to step up its so far futile efforts for a possible joint venture with a Japanese or European car firm in order to raise additional cash.

Detroit's gloomy mood even extends to mighty General Motors, which lost \$100 million on operations in the third quarter. Still stuck with 330,000 of the 1979 model autos and trucks, GM has started its own incentives of \$100 to \$400 per vehicle for dealers. Yet no come-ons are needed for small models. People attempting to buy the gas-sipping Chevrolet Citation and other GM "X-cars" have waited six months or more for delivery. ■

How Communists Beat Inflation

Shh... they subsidize, switch and cheat a bit, that's how

Officially, as the Russians and their East European satellites see it, inflation is a disease unique to capitalism. "With the exception of the war years," triumphs Nikolai Glushkov, chairman of the Soviet State Committee on Prices, "there has never been any inflation in the U.S.S.R., nor does any exist today." Now let us all laugh, comrades. The East bloc, like the West, is suffering a severe dose of rapidly rising consumer prices. It is not called inflation but "an adjustment in the state pricing structure." Inflation by any other name stinks as badly.

Since 1977 Russia has ordered four waves of price increases covering ev-

standard three-room apartment to \$37.

Rumors of forthcoming official price rises constantly sweep East bloc countries and produce sporadic shortages as shops are cleaned out. Buyers also suffer from hidden prices that the state slides in without fanfare. A product—for example, a \$45 electric razor—suddenly might be given a new model number, a different color or a fresh package, and a new price: \$58.

Alternatively, the state manufactures both high- and low-priced versions of, say, furniture. But, in the old bait-and-switch technique, the cheaper items are often not available. The price of basic bread in Po-

the East bloc's surging prices is the inflation in world oil. Russia is energy self-sufficient, and it supplies European satellites with about 80% of their needs. The prices of that crude are based on an OPEC formula, and they are going up—albeit at a slower rate.

Worse, Soviet oil production is falling below the target set in the 1976-80 five-year plan, and Moscow has begun to put a ceiling on its shipments. The East Europeans find it difficult to get more from OPEC because the cartel does not want to sell for Communist currencies. What can OPEC do with zlotys or rubles?

Among other reasons for Communist inflation:

- Foul weather. Last winter was the coldest that the Russians have suffered for 75 years; it damaged power lines, rails and roads and paralyzed production across much of Eastern Europe. East Germany, the world's largest brown coal producer, was forced to import coal from the West. Later, flooding in the north and droughts in the south hurt several countries' harvests and forced expensive purchases of Western grain.

- Lagging technology. This results in generally low-quality goods that are hard to sell in the West. The inability to export much makes it difficult to buy the advanced machines that could produce goods more cheaply. The debt to the West of the Comecon nations is estimated to be \$54 billion. In Poland, 50% of all hard currency earned this year from exports will go to pay interest, and that kicks up price levels.

- Low productivity. Output of Soviet steel, chemicals, fertilizers and other industrial basics is below last year's. The satellites also suffer from production blahs. One reason is the lack of advanced technology, but Marxist ideological strictures do their part. Some countries place a ceiling on the bonuses that can be awarded to individuals for higher output, and many employees prefer to clock out and work at second jobs in the growing "underground" economies.

- Rigid controls. Strict centralization of planning curtails flexibility and produces inefficiency. Last April East Germany set the prices that state industries will pay for raw materials in 1980; there is no provision for the government to pass on to those companies subsequent increases.

Of course, none of these disadvantages will be easily overcome. Since the satellites in the 1980s will almost certainly have to turn increasingly to OPEC for oil, there will be more inflation and shortages. That is causing considerable worry among the commissars. The trade-off for the deprivation of individual rights was always supposed to be steadily improving economic conditions. That is now proving ephemeral. So disillusionment, discontent and defections to the West are reaching epidemic proportions. If prices continue to soar, the political explosion could be immense.



Poles shop for fresh fruit in Warsaw, but even in summer it can be difficult to find
Getting shortchanged in the old trade-off of individual rights for financial security.

everything from books and cut glass to gasoline, plane fares and chocolate. Last July Soviet cars jumped 18% and carpets and restaurant meals rose 50%. Czechoslovakia lifted its rate for children's clothing, fuel, postage and rents, while Hungary raised the price of bread, flour, sugar and some meats by up to 50%. The quintessential Hungarian paprika rose 28%.

It is difficult to state the real level of inflation, Eastern style. Even those governments that admit to a low level of "inflation" cook the books and obscure the situation with huge state subsidies that hold down prices of certain essentials. The Soviet Union will spend about \$31 billion this year to restrain the retail price of food; frozen turkey sells at \$1.81 per lb. and milk at 20¢ a pint. It will also spend \$7.5 billion to hold average monthly electricity and heating bills to \$4.50 and the monthly rent for a

land has remained officially unchanged for 15 years at 6¢ per lb.; but never-style and more popular breads of higher quality that contain honey or bran and cost up to three times as much are also frequently unavailable.

With some exceptions, the price of food and most essentials is indeed low, but there is rarely enough of anything that is popular. It is impossible now to buy detergents in Moscow, and meat is in chronic shortage. Even in summer, fresh fruit and vegetables can be hard to find. Most of these "luxuries," however, are available without long waits at the free markets where farmers sell produce from their private lots for inflated prices. Beef and pork go for around \$4.07 per lb. rather than \$1.36 in the shops, while potatoes, carrots, tomatoes, oranges and apples are all on sale at prices roughly six times higher than the official level.

As in the West, a major reason for



Field of ripening sunflowers in Fargo, N. Dak., which will provide another kind of oil and give farmers a 25% higher return than wheat

Flower Power On the Plains

The hottest new cash crop

For years the autumn landscape in the fertile Red River valley of North Dakota and Minnesota was unchanging: acres of wheat extended to a flat skyline broken only by the lonely silhouettes of grain elevators. Now the amber waves are interrupted by broad patches of dark brown, and the horizon is punctuated by tall processing towers. These are signs of the region's hot new cash crop, which is also becoming an important export: the sunflower.

The enormous *Helianthus* plant is familiar as the source of those light gray seeds that birds like to peck at and kids love to munch. But what is exciting farmers is a somewhat shorter (5 to 6 ft.) variety that yields a dark brown seed containing a high-protein food oil. This fall growers in North Dakota and adjacent states will harvest more than 5 million acres of what they call "flower," double last year's planting and 100 times as large as that of a decade ago. Some 75% of the crop, which will fatten farm incomes by \$800 million this year, is sold in Europe and such distant markets as Egypt and Australia.

Growing consumer consciousness about health has helped the market. Flower oil costs 10% to 15% more than oil made from corn or soybeans, but its cholesterol content is lower; it has 70% polyunsaturated fats, vs. about 55% for corn oil. Hunt-Wesson in September began national distribution of a flower oil named Sunlite. Procter & Gamble is selling a blend of flower and soybean oil called Puritan, and Lever Brothers is marketing Promise, a part-flower margarine.

Oddly, what first spurred U.S. interest in *Helianthus* was the emergence in the 1960s of latex-base paints. This under-



Combine harvests seed in Arthur, N. Dak.

Like the symbol of the Inca god, solid gold

mined the market for paints based on linseed oil, which is made from flax. Companies that processed flaxseed had to find another oil to keep their machinery busy. Cargill Inc., the huge Minneapolis grain dealer, in 1966 dispatched a researcher to get some sunflower seeds from the Soviet Union, which is the leading producer. At the same time, Cargill and rival Honey-mead Products set out to persuade farmers to try the new crop. That was not easy; the companies had to promise skeptical growers that they would buy their entire flower harvests at prices above the going rates for wheat and other crops.

A breakthrough came in 1974, when both Cargill and the Department of Agriculture developed hybrid seeds that increased yields by 20% an acre. This made sunflowers financially attractive to farmers, who now net up to 25% more for flower than for wheat.

As a crop, flower resists frost, has a short growing season, and is less affected by drought than wheat. It also has some drawbacks. Says Farmer Tom Sinner, of Casselton, N. Dak.: "You plant flower because it brings a better return than other crops, but weeds and insects just love it." Agronomists fear that repeated plantings

of flower on the same stretch of soil will so infest it with insects and diseases that it will become unusable for that crop.

Such considerations have not dampened the enthusiasm of flower farmers, and their fondness for *Helianthus* at least has a historical precedent. When Francisco Pizarro's conquistadors invaded Peru in 1532, they found Inca priestesses wearing sunflower emblems—symbolic of the sun god—on their breasts. The material: solid gold.

Premium Parity

Fairer auto insurance rates

Whether they are model drivers or hot-rod hellions, men aged 16 to 24 are usually socked with screechingly high auto insurance premiums. That discrimination could end if an experiment started in Connecticut last week by Motors Insurance Corp. is adopted by other companies. MIC, owned by General Motors, will make highway performance—not age, sex or marital status—its guide to rate setting.

Under the MIC program, an 18-year-old Hartford fellow just getting a license to drive his new Chevy Citation, for example, pays exactly the same as a 35-year-old Hartford housewife climbing behind the wheel of the same model car for the first time. Drivers will receive premium reductions for each year of accident-free motoring, up to a maximum of five consecutive years. MIC estimates that people under 25 will pay an average of 55% less than they have been paying.

The catch is that MIC policyholders will be charged higher deductibles on claims—\$500 on the majority of crashes instead of the standard \$200. Rates for the accident-prone rise steeply. But that is the whole idea: to shift more of the financial burden to those responsible for wrecks. Adults and adolescents alike will have an even stronger incentive to slow down and stay sober.



Lord Home of the Hirsell at a favorite spot on the Leet Water



Barbara Mandrell approves as Ambassador Chai Zemin plucks a banjo

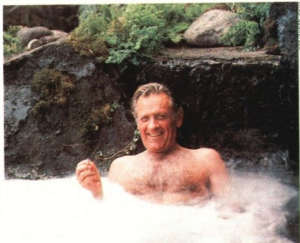
People

The 14th Earl of Home (pronounced Hume), 76, who as Sir **Alec Douglas-Home** was Britain's Prime Minister in 1963-64, is also an author. In *Border Reflections*, he recounts his private life as Lord Home of the Hirsell, the gray stone 70-room Home "hoose" on the English-Scottish border, surrounded by 3,000 acres of grouse moors and prime fishing spots along a stream called Leet Water. Angular Angler Home, who has tried "every known lure from the maggot to the dryest of flies," also dotes on lore. His technique for harvesting worms, a favorite bait: "Take a tablespoon of mustard, mix in warm water and sprinkle it on an area of lawn about a yard square. In two or three minutes, the worms will wriggle to the surface."

Almost everything else is unisexing these days—so why not those burlesque lines that passquerade as cheerleading squads at pro football games? That's what 74,500 fans in Denver's Mile High Stadium must have thought as their Broncos' cheerleaders, the Pony Express, skittered onto the field in glittering t & a (for team spirit and ardent rah-rah-ing) costumes of halters, miniskirts, gloves and white vinyl boots. But wait. That cheerperson in the middle, wasn't she a little flat of chest and hairy of hide? No wonder. It was TV's **Robin Williams** (*Mork &*



Williams cheerleading in Denver and Holden bathing Down Under



Mindy) filming for an upcoming sequence, *Hold that Mork!* So it was all a drag? Not for the Broncos, who beat the New England Patriots 45-10.

He may be 61, but **William Holden** still has the body of a 50-year-old. Or even less. Viewers can judge for themselves next fall when they watch Holden in *The Earthling*, a tale about an Australian bat-around-the-world who finally comes home to die. He stops along the way to take a beefcake bath—or in Holden's case, a sirloin splash—in an Australian stream. He also encounters Child Star **Ricky Schroder** (*The Champ*), who at nine has just lost mother and father in an automobile crash. What happens next is tearjerking. It also includes kangaroos and wallabies.

In China they call it *min ge*, meaning popular country songs, but the folks who sing it certainly don't go around wearing backless sequined tunics or rhinestone shirts. That fazed Chinese Ambassador to the U.S. **Chai Zemin** not at all as he journeyed down to Nashville to learn about American country music at the source. Chai was feted by the who all's y'all of country. **Roy Acuff** sang about the Wabash Cannonball. **Minnie Pearl** taught him square dancin'. **Johnny Cash** gave the Ambassador his own guitar. Glamorous **Barbara Mandrell** did an impromptu duet with the envoy on banjo. Chai toasted mutual friendship, but he sashayed a diplomatic do-si-do around the hope behind the hoodown: whether and when his hosts can export American *min ge* to China.

On the Record

Manfred Rommel, Stuttgart mayor and son of "Desert Fox" Erwin Rommel: "It's sad for the German people that they must admit it was better to lose in war than win. But we have to admit it. It would have been terrible had Hitler won."

Neil Armstrong, ex-astronaut on jogging: "I believe every human has a finite number of heartbeats. I don't intend to waste any of mine running around doing exercises."

Cinema

Only the Mozart Is Missing

DON GIOVANNI Directed by Joseph Losey

Screenplay by Patricia and Joseph Losey and Frantz Salieri

Libertine, blasphemer, aristocratic scapegrace, eternal anarchist, the Don Juan of legend still enthalls and disturbs the Western consciousness. He is a figure of mythic proportions, larger than the countless works of art that have tried to contain him, from Molière and Goldoni through Byron and Shaw. The fascination of his enigmatic psychology is apparently inexhaustible. He has been seen as a Punch-like comic character; as a tragic hero, or Nietzschean rebel against God; as a walking textbook of sexual pathology. He survives all interpretations. He will survive even this one: an opulent but confused and wrongheaded adaptation of the greatest of all Don Juan stories and perhaps the greatest of all operas, Mozart's *Don Giovanni*.

Conceived by Paris Opéra General Director Rolf Liebermann, *Don Giovanni* is an attempt to go beyond the usual filmed operatic performances or made-for-TV studio productions. Joseph Losey (*The Servant*, *The Go-Between*) takes his cast of international singing stars out on location to the waterways of Venice and to some stunning Palladian villas in the countryside around Vicenza. Never mind that Ingmar Bergman's 1975 version of Mozart's *The Magic Flute* showed what enchanting results a modest, studio-bound production could achieve. Never mind, too, that the locale of the Don Juan legend and the setting of Mozart's opera is not Italy but Spain. The real problem is that in taking the work out of the opera house, Losey has taken a lot of the opera out of the work.

Mozart and Librettist Lorenzo



Kiri Te Kanawa as the jilted Donna Elvira



da Ponte created an enormously alluring, vital protagonist who pursues his appetites with cheerful disregard for law or morality. After forcing himself on a noblewoman, Donna Anna, he duels with her father, the Commendatore, and kills him. Then, while the Don busies himself mostly with trying to seduce the peasant girl Zerlina, Donna Anna joins forces with her fiancé Don Ottavio and another of the Don's conquests, Donna Elvira, to hound him through a series of comic entanglements, disguises and escapes. When a statue of the slain Commendatore comes to life and challenges the Don, he defiantly invites the statue to supper. Threatened with damnation, he remains unrepentant and true to his nature, thus taking on a perverse grandeur.

Mindful that the work was composed in 1787, on the eve of the French Revolution, Losey chooses to see it as a drama of conflict between a cynical, depleted *ancien régime* and the exploited lower orders. He tacks on an epigraph from Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci: "... the old is dying and the new cannot be born; in this interregnum, a great variety of morbid symptoms appears." His Don, solemnly played by Ruggero Raimondi, is a joyless, brooding creature whose compulsive sexuality is merely a neurotic reflection of social tensions. Losey gives us the least passionate seducer on film since Fellini's curiously chilly portrait of Casanova a couple of years ago.

In Mozart's great finale, the statue arrives at the Don's supper as an agent of divine retribution. But there is no room for theology, or even for the supernatural, in the class struggle. Losey, after underplaying the hair-raising moment when the statue first speaks, dissipates its horrific arrival by treating it almost as a hallucination. Then, in one of his most bizarre touches, a glass blower's open furnace—first

The list of conquests unfolds like a carpet (above); Ruggero Raimondi, as the Don, feasts while Eric Adjani and José Van Dam look on



MUSIC: PART 2 OF DON GIOVANNI



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seen during the overture—materializes once again in the Don's house and engulfs him, in a sort of industrial accident. Don Giovanni does not exactly go to hell, but the scene does.

There is a glint of extravagant humor in the recital of the Don's conquests by his servant Leporello, with the list stretching down the steps of his house and out into the garden; but José Van Dam's engaging Leporello is scarcely allowed to become the *buffo* scallawag that Mozart and Da Ponte had in mind. Edda Moser as Donna Anna, Teresa Berganza as Zerlina, Kenneth Riegel as Don Ottavio, all throw themselves into their roles with intensity, but only the exotic Kiri Te Kanawa, as Donna Elvira, manages to shake off some of Losey's heavy seriousness. Missing are the wit and verve, the "elate darting rhythms" with which Shaw said Mozart conveyed the spirit of the work. Here the music is not as much help as it might be, since Lorin Maazel conducts it with such grim, unrelenting drive. (The complete soundtrack has been released in a three-LP set by Columbia.)

The settings are truly lovely—symmetrical Palladian porticoes, marble rooms with glowing frescoes and statuary, formal gardens opening on cypress-dotted vistas. Losey scatters the action of the opera over every photogenic square foot of them. Characters grope endlessly down pillared corridors, wander around outdoors and are unaccountably set afloat on gondolas. Consecutive scenes shift disconcertingly from nighttime to broad daylight and back again. Most of the music is lip-synched to a prerecorded track: inside or out, wind or rain, we hear the souped-up ambience of the recording studio. The result is that characters who ought to be interacting lose touch with each other and finally with the sense of the libretto. The most absurd example is *Il mio tesoro intanto*, in which Ottavio, supposedly at night, exhorts his friends to console Donna Anna while he goes in search of the authorities. Losey sends him strolling up and down a sunlit lawn, singing to nobody in particular, while pausing occasionally to nudge the sleeping form of some peasant sprawled in his path.

Losey adds one character not found in the original, a mysterious young valet in black who hovers wordlessly in virtually every scene of the Don's, often exchanging intimate glances with him. A nemesis? An illegitimate son? A homosexual lover? (A dubious motif also suggested by the epicene revelers at the Don's supper.) The figure, mimed with sullen sensuality by Eric Adjani (Isabelle's brother), remains cryptic and annoyingly gratuitous. He does, however, make a perfect emblem for Losey's whole approach. This *Don Giovanni* deserves the old line once used by Dorothy Parker to describe the Alps: beautiful but dumb.

—Christopher Porterfield

Living

Those Uncaring Airlines

A new guide rates and berates them

If airlines were hotels, most of them would be out of business. This familiar plaint of the frequent passenger was quantified last week with publication of a 1980 travel guide assembled by Egon Ronay, one of Britain's most acerbic critics of pretentious food and sloppy service. For the first time in its 22 years, Ronay's *Lucas Guide* (Penguin; \$9.95) goes beyond its customary survey of British restaurants and inns to rate—and berate—14 Britain-to-North America carriers. Some of them may want to head for the nearest cloud.

While Delta ranks a surprising first and El Al a merited last (see box), few of the airlines land unscathed. In an introduction headed "Thoroughly Fed-Up," Ronay writes: "Herded like cattle, kept uninformed during frequent delays, racked in their tight seats, air travelers are reduced to ciphers and dehumanized." Hungarian-born Ronay nears apoplexy on the subject of airline food: "Only the truly captive situation of the passenger explains how airlines can get away with serving unadulterated rubbish."

There are few kind words for the flight attendants who pass out "the antiseptic anti-chicken" and "glutinous casseroles." Once meal service is finished, Ronay and his inspectors conclude, the cabin staff forgets about the passenger. Worst of all is "the scandalous state of the toilets. Our experience of filth and discarded bits and pieces does not bear description."

The guide's complaints about El Al range from the food, strictly kosher and inedible, to staffs that seem "tired, unenthusiastic, indifferent and undisciplined... None of our inspectors would willingly fly El Al again." Next lowest ranking goes to boozeless Iran Air; while no sane American would ride the Khomenei carrier today, it has never been very good.

On the other hand, it may be worth the trip to Toronto to fly Air Canada to London. The food was only half bad, says Ronay, the service superb: "We came away in a good mood, feeling that we had been served by crews who worked as a team and took pride in their job and their country." On Delta, the food had some flavor and was gracefully served, which is not always true on the airline's domestic flights. High praise goes to "the smiling Irish eyes" of Aer Lingus' stewardesses, though the non-Hibernian meals would be rejected at the lowliest Dublin pub. The guide also has high praise for Sir Freddie Lak-



Editor Egon Ronay

er and his pioneering, price-cutting Skytrain, "the most exciting development on the hitherto complacent transatlantic travel scene." The crews are smart and thoughtful, the meals attractively priced. "But, alas," reports Ronay, "it's the familiar story of dry meat, tasteless, watery vegetables, gray potatoes or a new horror, rubbery scrolls of pasta (and eaten with plastic cutlery at that)."

The soggy saga goes on and on. The TWA dessert that tastes like "mint-colored shaving cream." The "glorified hot water" that passes for coffee on Pan Am. The menus on National, which are rendered in French (even for breakfast), though "no Frenchman would give house-room" to the meal that follows. The canned fruit, the cannonball rolls, the senile salads. Some of the British inspectors' bitterest barbs are aimed at British Airways: *pace* Robert Morley, its "farcically pretentious Elizabethan menu heralded one of the worst air meals ever eaten." A British Airways official, who might have been speaking for most of the chastised carriers, retorted huffily: "I am afraid Mr. Ronay is totally out of touch with the views and tastes of today's airline passengers." Ho ho!

The Score

Six inspectors, including Egon Ronay, flew each of the airlines three times, on day and night flights. They traveled economy class. (Not included in the survey, because they do not have direct U.K.-North America service, were Air France, Lufthansa and Alitalia.) Each airline was graded according to 14 criteria, with an optimum of 100%, ranging from in-flight announcements to the selection of magazines and newspapers aboard. The score:

77%	Delta	57%	Braniff
69%	Air Canada	58%	Aer Lingus
66%	TWA	56%	Laker
65%	British Cal.	54%	N.W. Orient
62%	National	52%	Pan American
59%	Air India	37%	Iran Air
58%	Brit. Airways	36%	EI/Al

Law

Passing the Hat for the Provos

No practical way to curb the cash flow

The burly bartender at a neighborhood saloon in the Queens section of New York City offers a shot of John Jameson Irish whisky to a Gaelic-looking stranger. As the visitor tosses it down, the bartender mutters a curse about "the bloody Brits"—and carefully observes the drinker's reaction. At the slightest sign of agreement, he moves in. Bluntly, and loudly enough so his other Irish-American patrons can hear, he asks the stranger for a contribution to the terrorist Provisional wing of the Irish Republican Army.

Few customers can resist the pressure: most contribute. Each week the bartender collects about \$100, which he turns over to unnamed friends who deliver it "where it will do the most good." The bartender, who has never even seen Ireland but whose father was born there, also collects weapons for the Provisional I.R.A. He led a recent visitor to a nearby cellar, where he had hidden half a dozen M-16 rifles and a footlocker full of land mines. The cache was being held for a confederate ("I'm not sure of his name, but I think it's Casey"), who would smuggle the arms to Northern Ireland.

The bartender is one of countless Irish Americans across the country who, out of a romantic sense of patriotism for the land of their forefathers, gather money and guns for the Provos. Gunrunning is illegal: although the bulk of the arms buying is done in the Middle East, since 1973, 22 Americans have been convicted of purchasing and exporting weapons to Northern Ireland. But fund raising, even for terrorists, is not unlawful. Furthermore, any individual can carry up to \$5,000 in cash out of the country without reporting it. When suspicious customs inspectors searched some passengers on a charter flight to Ireland from New York City last March, they found that no one was carrying more than \$4,900. According to a British intelligence report, Americans contribute more money (an estimated \$145,000 a year) to the Provisional I.R.A. than do people in any other country. The largest single U.S. source of cash, according to the report, is the New York-based Irish Northern Aid Committee (Noraid), which is headed by a former I.R.A. fighter, Michael Flannery, 77, who operates out



Ireland's Prime Minister Jack Lynch

of a small, cluttered Bronx office.

Two weeks ago, the Justice Department tried to compel Noraid to designate the Provisional wing of the I.R.A. as its "foreign principal." Noraid refused, and its attorney, former New York City Council President Paul O'Dwyer, insisted, "We won't be falsely labeled."

Noraid's leaders contend that the or-

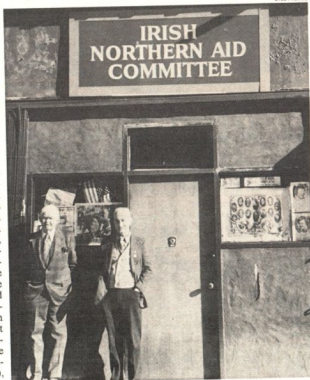
ganization does not supply money or weapons for the Provos gunmen. They insist that the group's sole purpose is to help support the families of fighters killed or imprisoned by the British. Yet the line is a fine one, as even Flannery concedes: "Our support for their families enables them [the Provos] to make other uses of their money, so in that respect, yes, we're financing the I.R.A." Because Noraid has long been registered in the U.S. as an agent for the Irish Northern Aid Committee of Belfast, Flannery makes an accounting to the Justice Department of his organization's receipts twice a year. He says that Noraid raises about \$200,000 annually and that the books he keeps account for every penny.

Because the Justice Department cannot put Noraid out of business, the Government's primary aim is to discourage contributions from Americans by forcing Flannery to acknowledge that some of the money is used for terrorism in Northern Ireland. Says a federal investigator: "Flannery would be better off standing on a soapbox shouting for money to buy guns and bricks and bombs to blow the Brits out of Northern Ireland. That would be the end of it as far as we are concerned. We would leave him alone." In fact, while donations might slow if the collectors were that candid,

Noraid could not then be sued by the Justice Department for failure to disclose the real purpose of its money.

Ireland's Prime Minister, Jack Lynch, readily agrees with the Justice Department's strategy. Says he: "If those who contribute believe that their money goes to support widows and orphans, let me make it clear that it goes to make widows and orphans." While touring the U.S. last week, Lynch estimated that "something like 2%" of Ireland's population supports Provo objectives. He pleaded with Irish Americans in Chicago to "desist from giving support to these people." Said Lynch: "If Americans imagine that they are helping Ireland, they are wrong. They are doing just the opposite."

But that kind of talk does not at all dissuade the Provisional I.R.A. sympathizers who pass the hat in bars, social clubs and churches in Irish neighborhoods in the U.S. Acknowledges Alice Mulhern, a mother of three who eagerly solicits contributions in New York City: "It's not for widows and orphans. The British welfare system takes care of them. It's for the I.R.A."



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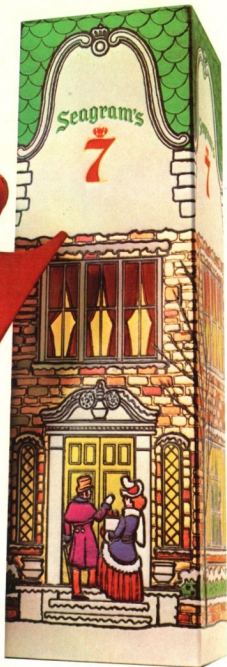
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Law

Briefs

MARATHON MAN

When Miami police led Clarence Mullins off to jail in the morning darkness one day last week, they ended a crime spree that may put Mullins, 26, in the record book. It all began, according to the police, when Mullins stopped a teenage driver in downtown Miami, relieved him of his valuables, stuffed him in the car trunk and headed for Jackson Memorial Hospital. There he grabbed a nurse and pushed her into the car, but the woman slid out the opposite door before he could drive off. By now police radios all over the city were crackling: Look out for a white Dodge Dart with an arm protruding from the side of the rusted trunk. Mullins ditched the Dodge, flagged down another motorist, pistol-whipped him and took his car. Minutes later Mullins appeared at a restaurant, where he assaulted a woman and ran off with her purse. At a nearby street corner he picked up a young woman, later described by police as a prostitute, and raped her in a park. When a passer-by surprised him, Mullins retreated to the car with his victim; both were nude. Speeding off, he rammed a car. The woman ran for safety; Mullins, pausing only to pull on his underwear, gave chase.

By then the police were on the scene. But Mullins was not through yet: in the final act of his rampage, he knocked one of the officers unconscious. If Mullins was tired after his crime marathon, so was the police computer. His rap sheet came to 42 pages, mostly for drug possession and shoplifting. Later, after listening to the detectives' version of the story, Mullins said he could not possibly have done it, it must have been someone else. The new charges—altogether eleven—include rape, robbery, assault and battery, and false imprisonment. All the work of two hours.

NO WEDLOCK, NO WORK

In 1968 Kathleen Bishop set up house with her boyfriend. Seven years later, then a Catholic University law student, she was still living with him and looking forward to a summer job with the Justice Department. During a routine background investigation, a question was asked that floored Bishop: "Are you living with anybody?" Her answer cost her the job. The department's rationale: cohabitation out of wedlock is "widely regarded as a sign of low character." Bishop filed suit. Last week the Justice Department signed a consent order stating that it cannot refuse to hire someone solely because he or she lives out of wedlock with a person of the opposite sex. Bishop, 33, was pleased,

but the ruling did not come soon enough to help her; she is a full-time administrator at the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

DON'T KEEP ON TRUCKIN'

When the Jeff Davis County sheriff's department in Texas brought in four portable toilets, it was clear that something big was on. And big it was: a 24-hour roadblock along Interstate 10 near Kent, Texas, that stopped 1,000 cars and netted the county almost \$7,000 in fines, according to a report last week to the county commissioners. Truckers were the main victims: they accounted for the bulk of the 199 citations issued for expired licenses and permits. Six people were arrested for drunken driving, three for auto theft, two for possession of weapons and nine on drug charges. Seventeen illegal aliens were apprehended. Since all vehicles were stopped, authorities insist they steered clear of the random searches declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court last March. "Not illegal, but very undesirable," said an American Civil Liberties Union spokesman. Such criticism has not deterred the roadblock's creator, Sheriff Wid McCutcheon, who doubles as county assessor-collector. The county is already planning another road show next spring, at a date not to be announced. ■

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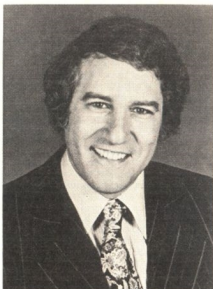
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Behavior



Mike DeSisto (far left), founder and director of the Massachusetts haven, at a group session with three of his students

Getting that "DeSisto Glow"

Disturbed kids are straightened out at a Stockbridge school

To the casual visitor, it looks like a typical boarding school for the overprivileged—300 acres in Stockbridge, Mass., a mansion, dorms, art studios, a gym, music rehearsal rooms and a barn, and 150 teen-agers so bright-faced and chipper that local residents say they can identify them by the "DeSisto glow."

In fact, DeSisto at Stockbridge is a haven for the walking wounded. Some of the students have been beaten and abused much of their lives. At least half of them were drug users by age twelve. Others had been given up on as hopeless schizophrenics, and some of the girls—and boys—were rape victims and prostitutes.

As new students quickly learn, the school is a therapeutic bootcamp. Each youngster has individual psychological sessions at least once a week, and everyone on campus—faculty and students alike—is subjected to group therapy virtually all the time. The psychology is Gestalt, involving constant confrontation and intense expression of feeling. Discipline and structure are maintained primarily by the students themselves. The use of drugs, alcohol, or any violence or sex results in an instant dorm meeting and, sometimes, a call for a temporary expulsion. The student is sent outside the gates, then allowed back in after agreeing to perform 250 extra work hours for the community. If homework is neglected or a bed left unmade, fines are subtracted from the \$10 weekly allowance earned by each student. An honor code requires everyone to report infractions by other students.

Though DeSisto may sound like a work camp dreamed up by Dickens and Freud, it has successfully straightened out disturbed youngsters who had failed to respond to treatment elsewhere. One boy, who is due to graduate next spring, had previously been expelled from a state

mental hospital as uncontrollable. A recent graduate, now working on the school staff while he waits to enter college, had a long theft-and-burglary record. Until the school turned him around, he had an unusual career goal: to be a bank robber.

The school is the brainchild of Mike DeSisto, 40, a bearded and pudgy teacher turned therapist. For eleven years, DeSisto was the salaried director of Lake Grove, a Long Island school where he developed his therapeutic program. Fired after he was accused by the Lake Grove trustees of trying to break up the school, the strong-willed DeSisto announced plans to found his own school; and most of the faculty and student body quit to go with him. Parents of the kids were loyal too. DeSisto bought the Stockbridge property with tuition money they paid in advance.

One of DeSisto's basic ideas is not unique to Gestalt psychology: that all youngsters, not just troubled ones, need structure and responsibility to get through adolescence. Says he: "You can't change anybody. All you can do is set up a supportive, warm, natural environment and then a natural process takes over." But all is not sweetness and light. At endless and merciless dorm meetings, rationalizations and excuses are brusquely dismissed as "bullshit," perhaps the most commonly used word on campus.

"I see this as an accepting, caring place," says a girl named Lisa. From across the room comes the commentary of a fellow student: "Do you believe that? I have a hard time believing anything you say." Admits Lisa: "I bullshit a lot." In a therapeutic community, no one is ever off-stage, and Lisa's reputation for lying will make every conversation a confrontation until she breaks the habit.

The basic question at DeSisto, in and out of therapy, is "Where are you?" The answer usually comes in Gestalt terms of

physical feelings. "My heart is pounding," one girl will say, or "I'm shaking all over. I'm very embarrassed." The student will be urged to "stay with the feeling." There is a lot of gentle mockery, and requests for hugs are granted, but no Esalen-like, nudie-feelie techniques are allowed. Guilt feelings are frowned upon, and youngsters are not allowed to blame themselves for long. One girl whose parents beat her is coached to tell residents of her dorm: "It was their fault, not mine."

DeSisto requires that parents get involved in therapy too, so that they change along with their children. He regularly brings together as many as eight families for week-long sessions of parent-child group therapy. There are also monthly meetings of DeSisto parent groups in New York, Chicago, Detroit and Boston—nuclei for what DeSisto hopes will some day be a nationwide chain of therapeutic schools. Says he proudly: "I want to make this one a flagship."

Pink Clink

A color that soothes inmates

Green is such a calming color that many school walls are painted "educational green" to reduce the restlessness of students. Now educational green may have to yield to an even more soothing tint: "jailhouse pink." According to Alexander Schauss, director of biosocial research at City College in Tacoma, Wash., the sight of the color pink changes the secretion of hormones, thus reducing aggressiveness. A jail commander in San Jose, Calif., who has tested the theory says it works—for a while. Lieut. Paul Becker found that prisoners were less hostile for the first 15 minutes in a cell that had been painted pink. But after 20 minutes, the hostility grew, and after three hours some of the men started to tear the paint off the walls. Conclusion: pink may be best for inmates whose sentences range from ten to 15 minutes.

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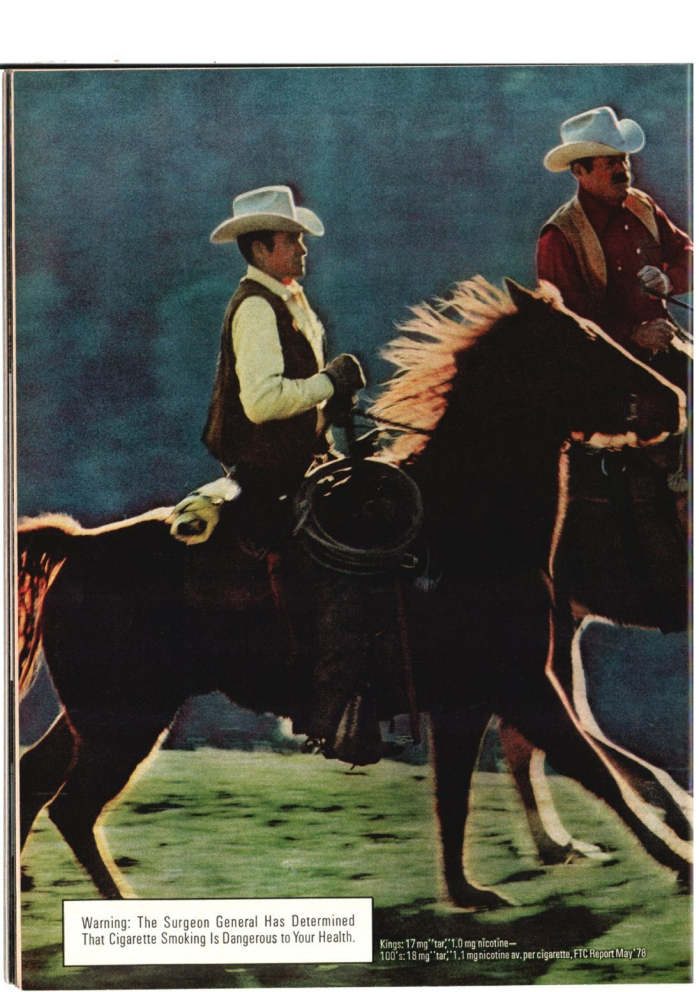
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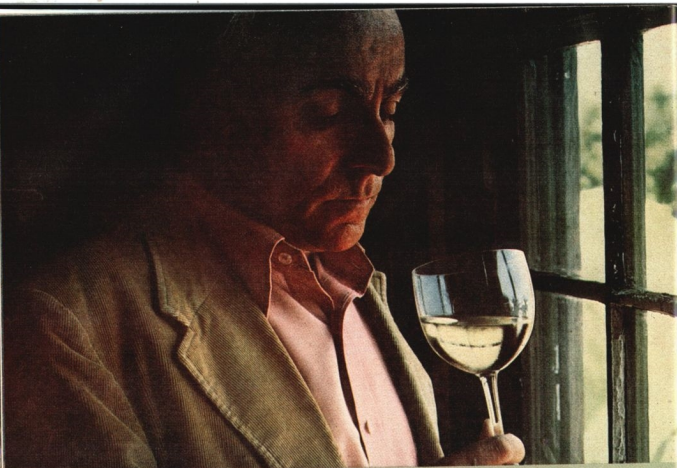
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Drs. Maseri and Kattus discussing new coronary spasm findings

Medicine

The Big Squeeze

Spasm causes heart attack

Margaret, 32, a California housewife, seemed in perfect health. Then, while shopping one day, she suddenly fell to the floor dead, apparently of a heart attack. Harry's demise was less unexpected: the New York stockbroker, 49, had been suffering from angina pectoris, periodic attacks of severe chest pain, for several months before he died in his sleep. In both cases, doctors assumed the fatal attacks had been triggered by blood clots or atherosclerotic plaques clogging the pencil-thin arteries that supply oxygen-rich blood to heart muscle. But autopsies showed that the coronary arteries of both victims were free of obstruction.

What caused the attacks? A growing number of cardiac specialists now agree on the probable villain in these and thousands of other heart attacks: coronary artery spasm, a sudden and transient constriction of a blood vessel. Lasting from 30 seconds to many minutes, the spasm effectively blocks a vessel and keeps oxygen from reaching the heart.

The notion of coronary spasm dates back at least to the turn of the century. But there was no proof, and spasm remained simply a theory, overshadowed by mounting evidence that atherosclerotic disease was a major cause of cardiac attacks. Then, in 1970, doctors got "the first eyeball look at an episode of coronary spasm." At the University of California in Los Angeles, Cardiologist Albert Kattus and his team were doing a coronary bypass operation on a woman when suddenly one of the vessels began to constrict. As that happened, Kattus recalls, "we could feel that her coronary artery was tough like twine instead of soft and pliable."

Today spasm is one of the most ac-

tive areas of medical research. Last week, in Anaheim, Calif., at a meeting of the American Heart Association, experts discussed the newest findings. Two of their more intriguing speculations:

► Coronary spasm may explain the infrequent incidents of chest pain and heart attack in premenopausal women, who rarely develop atherosclerosis. The spasm may cause blood to flow more slowly, thus allowing blood platelets to clump, clot and seal off the pathway.

► Spasm may be the underlying cause of angina, coronary attacks, and sudden unexplained death in cases where the heart arteries are partly clogged by fatty plaque buildup. Dr. Attilio Maseri reported that, while at the University of Pisa, he examined some 200 patients who suffered chest pains during periods of inactivity and who had varying degrees of atherosclerosis. He found that their chest pains were due to spasm. Said he: "Atherosclerotic narrowing of the vessels is the bystander rather than the culprit of angina in such patients." But, experts agree, a spasm that might merely hinder the flow of blood in a healthy artery could completely block it in one already partly narrowed by fatty deposits.

What causes the spasm is not yet clear, but there is anecdotal evidence that psychological stress plays a role. Researchers also know that clumping blood platelets release thromboxane A_2 , a substance that causes the constriction of blood vessels and therefore can trigger spasm.

The awareness about spasm has led to a new line of attack against heart disease. Traditional coronary dilators, like the nitroglycerin tablets taken by angina patients, may assume greater importance—as will new ones, such as the experimental drugs nifedipine and verapamil. Doctors are also enthusiastic about a substance that inhibits the aggregation of platelets and may reduce the risk of spasm—that old standby called aspirin. ■

Milestones

BORN. To Meryl Streep, 30, high-cheek-boned actress (*The Deer Hunter*, *Manhattan*), and her husband, Sculptor **Don Gummer**, 32: a son, their first child; in New York City. Name: Henry.

DIED. Ralph Thompson, 75, editor, book critic and, for 23 years, secretary of the Book-of-the-Month Club; of cancer; in New York City. An Army intelligence staffer during World War II, Thompson wrote the "Books of The Times" column for the New York Times before becoming a contributing editor at TIME in 1946.

DIED. Jed Harris, 79, irascible, flamboyant theatrical producer and director, whom Noel Coward dubbed "destiny's tot" when, at the age of 28, Harris had had four hits on Broadway (*Coquette*, *The Royal Family*, *The Front Page*, *Broadway*); in New York City. Born Jacob Horowitz in Vienna, Harris dropped out of Yale and toiled briefly as a press agent for the Shubert brothers before emerging as a theatrical *Wunderkind* by producing *Broadway*. Though financially crippled by the stock market crash in 1929, he produced or directed some of the more notable Broadway efforts of the 1930s, including Thornton Wilder's Pulitzer-prizewinning *Our Town*, *A Doll's House* with Ruth Gordon and *The Green Bay Tree* with Laurence Olivier. Harris' memoirs, *A Dance on the High Wire* (Crown; \$10) were published early this month.

DIED. Major General **Ernest N. Harmon**, 85, one of World War II's most decorated commanders; of pneumonia; in White River Junction, Vt. A West Point graduate, Harmon, better known to his troops as "Old Gravel Voice," commanded the "Hell on Wheels" 2nd Armored Division during the Allied invasion of French North Africa in 1942; the division later halted the Germans' westward plunge in the Battle of the Bulge.

DIED. Dimitri Tiomkin, 85, Russian-born composer who won three Oscars for his soaring scores for *The High and the Mighty*, *The Old Man and the Sea* and *High Noon*, and another for *High Noon*'s memorable theme song, *Do Not Forsake Me, Oh My Darlin'*; after fracturing his pelvis in a fall; in London. Intent on pursuing a career as a concert pianist, Tiomkin left Russia after the 1917 Revolution, made his Paris concert debut in 1924 and two years later performed for the first time in the U.S. Caught in the rush of talent to Hollywood in the early '30s, he went on to write more than 160 film scores, including those for the original *Lost Horizon*, *Giant*, *The Guns of Navarone* and *55 Days at Peking*. Accepting his Oscar in 1955 for his score for *The High and the Mighty*, Tiomkin, good-humored and self-effacing, won the hearts of his audience when he thanked his four collaborators: "Bach, Beethoven, Brahms and Debussy."

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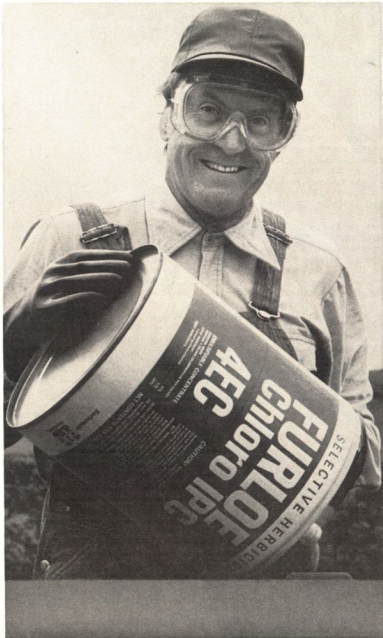
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Art

The Tempest in the Paint Pot

In New York, a full-dress Clyfford Still retrospective

For the past two decades, Clyfford Still has enjoyed a reputation as the Coriolanus of American art. No other living artist has so vociferously loathed the art world as a system. None has managed to keep a closer control over the fate of his work. Since the 1940s, when he emerged as one of the founding fathers of abstract expressionism, Still has jealously guarded his output, releasing few paintings to collectors, rarely showing in private galleries, insisting on conditions of display that few museums were prepared to meet. Consequently, his farm outside Westminster, Md., houses most of his immense oeuvre; and though he is almost 75, his work has yet to be adequately studied. All these ingredients—the large talent, the inaccessibility, the crusty pride—have made Still a somewhat mythic figure in American painting and put him in a position to dictate terms to any museum in the U.S. So it is with his current retrospective at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, a panorama of 79 huge canvases, Wagnerian in ambition and theme.

Still's sense of mission is, to put it mildly, imperial. "I had made it clear," he wrote in 1963, "that a single stroke of paint... could restore to man the freedom lost in 20 centuries of apology and devices for subjugation." The Met's catalogue is stuffed with this kind of rant and salted with fulminations against the demons of the "corrupt" art world that make the Ayatollah's views on the Shah seem, by comparison, mere tickling. Nevertheless, Still's notes on the history of abstract expressionism, which sharply contradict some *idées reçues* of the official version, are largely borne out by the evidence of his paintings. We see, for instance, how Barnett Newman's much praised early work, with its vertical "zip" down the canvas, was no more than a derivative rehearsal of certain canvases of Still's from 1943 to 1945.

The case against Still's work, such as it is, is not hard to make. Everything seems conducted at the same oratorical volume, whereas in the greatest romantic painters (Turner, for instance, or, in our own century, Pollock), there is a wide range of feeling, apportioned and understood, between the small, exactly registered perception and the grand, generalized effect. Still's colors tend to repetition, the drawing is clumsy, and the paint surface is often crude; he has a way of crushing

his pigments into clots and straggles of shiny impasto that works badly against the mat ground. Thus his visual language can look dour and forced.

Visionary ineloquence has a lot to do with native American culture, being woven into the American sense of the epic—and in painting, Still is its living example. His entire output is a repudiation of the cult of the "well-made picture." From the beginning, Still's art—unlike, say, de Kooning's—set itself in opposition to the cubist tradition with its small scale, ambiguities of space and geometric calibration. What he wanted, and had found by 1947, was a much simpler, grander and more declarative kind of structure: opaque, ragged planes of color rearing up the surface, emphatic in their brushwork—none of the characteristic cubist tonal flicker—and engulfing in their sheer size. If cubism was the art of hypothesis, Still would contradict it with an art of crushing visual fact. In doing so he hoped to make a clean leap out of modernist history into images "not proven by a continuum," as he wrote to a friend in 1950: "I am myself—not just the sum of my ancestors, and I know myself best by my gestures, meanings... not through a study of my family tree." To a great



Clyfford Still's canvas 1955-F (PH-18)

extent he succeeded. Virtually no modernist paintings done before 1945 look like his work, and even the influence of surrealism, a vital catalyst for Pollock and Rothko, is less apparent in Still than anywhere else in abstract expressionism. Instead of going by fits and starts, testing and absorbing other art, Still's career gives the impression of monolithic solidity: he found his style early and stuck to it for more than 30 years. No other artist living today could seem, or be, more self-sufficient.

The tradition to which Still's work is related is heroic landscape, the art of

COLLECTION OF ARTIST



Energy and patches of color: Still's April 22, 1977 (PH-1038)

Also fulminations, pride and an imperial sense of mission.

the epic vista, as seen in 19th-century America by painters like Bierstadt and Moran. No doubt, in some general way, his years spent under larger skies than Manhattan's, in the Midwest and Pacific Northwest, contributed to the sense of vast atmospheric scale in his art. But to read it directly as landscape violates its meaning. The cliffs and ravines of color, the jagged rifts of blue or vermilion breaking through a matrix of dense enveloping black, are not metaphors of the Grand Canyon or the Rockies, nor do the flickering shapes literally allude to flame or cloud. They are meant to convey a sense of pantheistic energy, of intense mood and vigorously articulated feeling—to substitute, in fact, for nature itself. For Still's admirers, this invites comparison with the greatest lyrical nature cycle in modern art, Monet's *Water Lilies*. Still's vocabulary is too narrow, his style too hectoring and coarse for that. But to have reached this terrain of feeling, and stayed on it for 30 years, is no mean achievement. It makes Still's Met exhibition one of the outstanding events in art since 1970. —Robert Hughes

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Science

A Glimpse of El Dorado

Manhattan welcomes a trove of ancient Colombian gold

To the conquistadors, the legend was a promise of fabled riches—a great lost city or a temple filled with treasures or perhaps an entire mountain of gold. Indeed, El Dorado (Spanish for “the gilded one”) may well have had a basis in fact. Folklore holds that Colombia’s Muisca Indians, who dwelt in the highlands near present-day Bogotá, installed their kings by dusting their naked bodies with gold and then washing them in nearby Lake Guatavita. To complete the ritual, they dropped gold and jewels into the holy waters as offerings to their god.

Whether such lavish ceremonies really took place is uncertain. But unlike most of the Aztec, Maya and Inca treasures, which the Spaniards melted down and shipped back home in the form of ingots, many of the ancient gold objects of the Colombian Indians have survived. Protected by rugged terrain, dispersed over a wider area in many different tribal groupings, the Colombians avoided some of the worst depredations of the European invaders. They also buried their treasures in hidden tombs that escaped detection until recent times.

Now a bit of El Dorado has materialized in the U.S. Last week more than 500 objects of Colombian gold went on exhibit at Manhattan’s American Museum of Natural History. Most of these treas-

sures—which next year will travel to Chicago, San Francisco and New Orleans—come from Bogotá’s Museo del Oro (Gold Museum), which has collected some 26,000 ancient gold pieces, often buying them up from *guaqueros* (professional tomb robbers) who otherwise would probably sell them to foreign collectors.

It is a dazzling display, showing surprising creativity and craftsmanship and ranging from ornamental hanging jewelry to funeral masks, from little musical bells to such utilitarian objects as fishhooks and decorated tweezers. There are even miniature urns for holding the lime that the Indians mixed with coca leaves to enhance their euphoric powers).



Above: ornamental lizard; below: ornamented figure of Indian man



Pendant of man in lush ceremonial headdress

No one knows exactly when the New World’s Indians first began working gold, but goldsmiths were apparently plying their trade in the Americas well before the time of Christ. By the 5th century A.D., there were whole towns of goldworkers. When the Spaniards finally arrived, the Indians had mastered all the goldworking techniques, including “lost wax” casting, known in the Old World.

Like the miners of the Klondike, the ancient artisans obtained much of their gold by panning. They also dug shafts into the ground and even set fire to hillsides to expose the gold-bearing soil. Smelting was done in small clay crucibles. Some objects, like the breastplates made in the Calima region of southwestern Colombia, were hammered into shape on stone anvils with instruments made of iron found in meteorites. To prevent the gold from becoming brittle and breaking while it

was being worked, the goldsmiths annealed it—heating it and quenching it rapidly in water. For joining different pieces, they developed several methods, including a sophisticated process also known to Etruscan and Greek goldsmiths; it is called granulation, a form of oxygenless welding in which a drop of copper acetate (made by dissolving copper in vinegar) and glue was used to fuse the gold.

Respect for the glowing handiwork of the Colombian Indians extends beyond the museums and the museumgoers of Colombia and the U.S. Even the *guaqueros*, who in the past would melt down these treasures, have come to recognize that an ancient art object may be worth more than its weight in gold. ■



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There's a change in the air



Education

Trouble in the Stacks

Libraries carry on over cash needs and computer printouts

In California, 22% of the state's 3,857 county libraries have closed down, and in the past year several thousand library staffers have been sent packing. In Hartford, Conn., funds are so short that since 1968 the nine-branch public library has not been able to count and check the half-million books that are supposed to be in its collection. In Fitchburg, Mass., library officials believe they could halt the loss of \$8,000 worth of unreturned and stolen books each year by installing a \$20,000 electronic detection system. The system would thus earn back its cost in fewer than three years, but the librarians have not been able to wangle the money from the city.

The current crisis is not caused by

library has made available a computer bank of statewide job openings. Richmond has a sidewalk kiosk where browsers can check out bestsellers and paperbacks. "I used to be a real elitist," says Librarian Howard Smith. "But we're trying to get people to read at no matter what level." The Dallas public library lends games and dress patterns in low-income neighborhoods. Some libraries even lend gerbils and hamsters, as well as hedge trimmers and posthole diggers—a development that often upsets traditionalists. Sniffs Mrs. Chebie Bateman, library director for Columbus, Miss.: "I believe in furnishing the books and letting the hardware store furnish the tools."

Just how ardently librarians should

nia vs. Allan Bakke, or the 1978 median income of U.S. families. Many of the retrieval systems are now available mainly to scholars and businesses. But Participant Nicholas Johnson, a former Federal Communications Commissioner, argued that libraries should spread access to this data among the citizenry. Manhattan Attorney Whitney North Seymour Jr. agreed: "A dramatic change in information dependency has taken place in our country, and the libraries are participants in that."

But finding funds just to keep the place open and buy a few books was a more immediate concern to most librarians. Delegates were united in a call to reapportion library funding from towns and cities to the Federal Government, which now pays only 5% of national library costs. A U.S. Senate proposal to study such a shift has been sponsored by New York Senator Jacob Javits. Like many another U.S. child of immigrant parents, Javits traces his rise from poverty to the hours he spent after school—working away in the neighborhood public library on the Lower East Side.



Participants at White House conference testing electronic information system

Not only Goethe and Homer, but gerbils and hamsters and hedge trimmers too.

reader neglect, but is simply a matter of money. Since 1969, the cost of books has soared by 106%. Libraries are funded chiefly by local governments and must compete for their share of revenue with life-and-death municipal services like police and fire departments. "The property tax is a killer," says Edward Chenevert, library director in Portland, Me. Complains Dale Perkins, 46, library director for California's San Luis Obispo County: "We are just one sixty-fifth of the county budget—right in there with mosquito abatement."

To woo the public's interest, many libraries across the country are adding special services and cultural come-ons. The Chicago public library offers a debt counseling service. In Des Moines, the library publishes a monthly newsletter that includes tips on renting apartments. In Ohio, the Columbus-Franklin County li-

brary to evolve into all-purpose community information centers was a hot topic last week in Washington among the 911 national delegates at the first White House Conference on Library and Information Services. One vision of the future was on display at the conference's own information center: a battery of computers with which delegates could summon up printouts on a bewildering array of information from more than 100 data banks. Among them: the Denver library's information bank, which stores pollution and land-use data; the U.S. Senate's information pool, named LEGIS, which keeps tab on the fate of legislative proposals; and a computerized reference guide known as the Bibliographic Retrieval System. Delegates had only to press a few buttons to plug into storehouses of information containing such items as the Supreme Court's decision in *Regents of the University of Califor-*

Getting Testy

A rebellion gathers steam

Which of the following words best completes this sentence: "How the roses flush up in the cheeks." Red? Pretty? Yellow? The answer, according to the intelligence testmakers who devised that question more than a decade ago, is "red." But, observes a provocative new tabloid called *Testing Digest*, red is right "only if the cheek in question is white."

Although testmakers have generally eliminated such blatant cultural bias from current tests, *Testing Digest* and an anomalous group of other critics have lately come forward to demand new scrutiny of tests for bias and for the use of ambiguous questions. Probably more important, the critics also seek general reform in society's use of standardized multiple-choice tests to measure intelligence and academic and professional achievement. The movement includes public interest advocates in Savannah, Ga., publishers of the *Measuring Cup*, a newsletter devoted solely to testing reform; the National P.T.A.; the United States Student Association; Consumer Advocate Ralph Nader; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and the National Education Association, a union of some 1.8 million teachers and school officials.

Two weeks ago at the NEA headquarters in Washington, the air resounded with attacks on testing. Representatives of reform-minded organizations plus a smattering of professors, school administrators and test experts from 28 states



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19
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18
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1.3 MG. NIC.



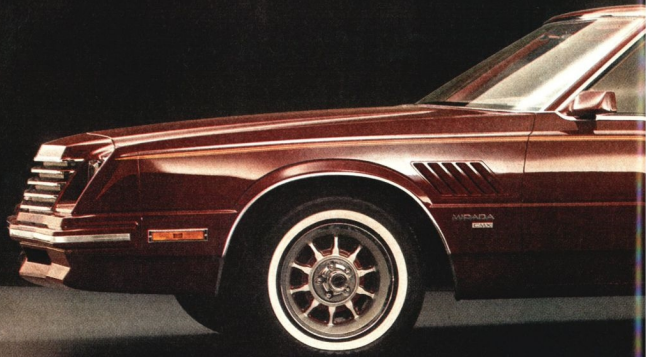
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Education

gathered at a meeting organized by a clumsily titled group ("Project to DE-mystify the Established Standardized Tests"). Some of the delegates even grumbled about the national turn toward required competency tests for promotion of elementary and high school students. P.T.A. Representative Ann Kahn said that due to testing, elementary school curriculums are now concentrating on test scores—to the exclusion of basics like good writing. Ralph Nader told the conferees: "Parents and students are seriously concerned about the enormous unchecked power wielded by the Educational Testing Service, the College Board and other companies. These companies define and measure intelligence in an atmo-

Which is prettier?



Item from the Stanford-Binet IQ test

Destroying the self-confidence of students?

sphere that resembles the secrecy of the CIA."

The meeting was divided about whether objection should be made to tests, to the misuse and overuse of tests, to the values of a test-happy society or to testing as an aid to inadvertent discrimination. But the conferees were clear enough about supporting a federal legislative measure, proposed by New York Congressman Ted Weiss and curiously dubbed truth in testing, that would require national aptitude testing companies to disclose test questions and answers shortly after tests are given. Scheduled for consideration by Congress next year, the measure has drawn heavy opposition from testing organizations, which warn that the costs to students will go up and the number of days on which tests are offered will go down if testmakers must draw up new exams more frequently than they do now.

To Conference Organizer John Weiss, 24, an activist who a year ago hit on testing as an issue in search of a movement, truth in testing is only the first step. Weiss says he hopes tests will be seen in a more balanced perspective and that alternatives will be developed to replace multiple-choice tests if the current rebellion "takes the halo off the whole operation." To Ralph Nader, the main ill to be cured is "the destruction of the self-confidence of millions of students who incorporate into their own psyches the standards of

PHOTO COURTESY OF MINOLTA

evaluation set by the Educational Testing Service, ETS and the other major testing firms decide who has 'aptitude' and 'intelligence,' decide who has access to educational and professional opportunities. They are regulators of the human mind."

That may be an overstatement, and a criticism of blind reliance upon tests rather than of the testing companies themselves. Most companies have long cautioned against overdependence on scores. They note, correctly, that national exams deserve credit for enhancing educational opportunities, especially in the case of talented students from lackluster schools. Even so, enough general suspicion of computerized testing organizations exists to spark the reform movement. "It used to be a little fringe group," trumpets Harvard Law Graduate Andrew Strenio, adding: "Now it is going mainstream."

Mainstream or not, some of the reaction to the reform movement has been strong. In New York, where a statewide truth-in-testing bill similar to that proposed by Weiss is scheduled to take effect Jan. 1, all but eight of 26 testing groups expect to halt testing instead of disclosing the questions on their exams. Included are the new Medical College Admissions Test, Dental Admission Test, Nursing School Aptitude Examination, and the Veterinary Aptitude Test. The Scholastic Aptitude Test for college applicants will continue to be offered in New York, but four times a year, rather than eight.

Some of the groups test only a handful of applicants in New York. They argue that spending an estimated \$25,000 to prepare a new test each time 300 people take the exam would require a cost to the student of \$80 or more. Insisting that "there is a definite limit to the number of high quality questions that can be generated," the Association of American Medical Colleges, which tests about 5,000 New York medical school applicants annually, has brought suit challenging the constitutionality of New York's law.

Meanwhile, across the continent, a judge has just given a boost to one group of testing reformers. In San Francisco, U.S. District Court Judge Robert F. Peckham last month ruled that California could not use the common Stanford-Binet IQ test to screen pupils for placement in a special program for the "educable mentally retarded." California's EMR program is 25% black, although blacks make up only 10% of the statewide school population. Even under the improbable assumption that black children have 50% more mental retardation than white children, said Peckham, the EMR enrollment pattern had just one chance in 100,000 of occurring without racial bias.

The culprit, he declared, is the culturally biased IQ test. Peckham quoted a similar ruling in which Judge J. Skelly Wright summarized the reformers' point. Said Wright: "Although test publishers and school administrators may exert against taking test scores at face value, the magic of numbers is strong." ■



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Books



Retreating British troops ride gloomily into South African town of Ladysmith in 1899

The Hearts of Darkness

THE BOER WAR by Thomas Pakenham; Random House; 718 pages; \$20

The Boer War was the British Empire's Viet Nam. Before it began in 1899, London had been asked for a mere 10,000 new troops to contain the Boer threat. Before it ended 32 months later, it had involved 450,000 imperial and colonial troops, of whom 22,000 lay dead on African soil. At least 25,000 Boers perished. And in this misnamed "white man's war," more than 12,000 blacks died on both sides. Its consequences still fuel hate in the Third World and guilt in the First.

The grim story has been told before, but never with such sweep and grieving comprehension. Part of the reason is new information, part is the skill and lineage of the author. Thomas Pakenham's mother, the Countess of Longford, is the biographer of Victoria and Wellington. His sister is Antonia Fraser, biographer of Cromwell, Mary Queen of Scots and Charles II. Pakenham was able to prowl the great houses of Britain in search of long-lost letters, papers and diaries, took time to learn Dutch and Afrikaans, and early in his eight years of research recorded the memories of the last survivors.

The remote root of the conflict was idealism, the immediate cause, greed. Afrikaners—Dutch Calvinist settlers—had been in South Africa for 150 years when the British took over the Cape of Good Hope during the Napoleonic Wars. In the 1830s parliamentary idealists in London decreed an end to slavery in the Empire, and some of the Afrikaners, dependent on their slaves, trekked into the wilderness to the north. The leaders of these *trekboers* (wandering farmers) founded two independent republics, the Transvaal

and the Orange Free State. No one but the native blacks would have cared had not a rich diamond pipe been found at Kimberley in the Orange Free State and an immense stratum of gold at Witwatersrand ("the Rand") in the Transvaal. As largely British "Outlanders" poured into the Rand to mine the gold, Empire Builder Cecil Rhodes plotted an uprising against Transvaal President Paul Kruger. But a premature raid tipped Rhodes' hand, and the Boers armed.

Britain was ill prepared for conflict. Despite its burgeoning Empire, its army was small—fewer than 320,000 men, most of them already tied down in colonial duties. (France had an army of 4 million.) War was, in fact, totally unnecessary. The British wanted political representation in the Transvaal for the Outlanders. Kruger was willing to bargain, but South African High Commissioner Alfred Milner, unfortunately, was the go-between. He was a dedicated warmonger, secretly backed by millionaire gold entrepreneurs. Troops were sent. They marched into the first 20th century war ready to fight with 19th century tactics.

There were a few initial victories, but the mounted, mobile Boers with their magazine-loading Mausers and their devastating "Long Tom" artillery soon drove the British forces into siege positions at Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking. The lessons of preparedness were not lost on one of the Boers' early captives: young War Correspondent Winston Churchill.

Mafeking became a legend, holding

Excerpt

“ The charge of two hundred horsemen galloping across a plain is designed to be an irresistible force. It does not stop simply because the enemy would like to surrender. 'Draw sabres—lances!' In neat lines, the Dragoons and Lancers began to thunder across the plain... Half a mile away, the Boers, unaware of their danger, had saddled up their ponies and begun to jog back the way they had come. The charging line of horsemen caught them broadside, like the steel prow of a destroyer smashing into the side of a wooden boat. People heard the crunch of the impact—steel against leather and bone and muscle—and saw the flash of the officers' revolvers, and heard the screams of the Boers trying to give themselves up. The Lancers and Dragoons swept on, leaving dozens of Boers, and some of their African retainers, spiked and splashed on the ground. Back came the cavalry for a second charge. ('Most excellent pig-sticking... for about ten minutes, the bag being about sixty,' said one of the officers later.)... The Boers fell off their horses and rolled among the rocks, calling for mercy—calling to be shot, anything to escape the stab of the lances. But a story had got round that the Boers had abused a flag of truce and, anyway, the order was no prisoners. **”**

out for seven months, but Pakenham shows it to be a legend with a stain. Its commander, Colonel R.S.S. Baden-Powell, later founder of the Boy Scouts, "played to win, and he made up his own rules as he went along." Baden-Powell's diaries, here freshly revealed, show that he short-rationed Mafeking's blacks in order to keep the garrison's white population comfortably fed.

The war did not turn in Britain's favor until the arrival of Lord Kitchener, hero of Omdurman. His forces drove into the Boer states, capturing the cities, restoring commercial life and making the two republics colonies. In the countryside, where the Boers waged guerrilla warfare, Kitchener adopted a sweep-and-scor policy, burning Boer farms, herding their women and children into refugee camps—dubbed by outraged members of Parliament "concentration camps" after the *reconcentrado* camps used by Spain in Cuba. Disease killed thousands. Feminist Emily Hobhouse, the Jane Fonda of her day, carried the cause to the British public; the camps fueled an antiwar campaign headed by Liberal Lloyd George,



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Books

and provoked worldwide indignation.

London finally allowed the nearly beaten Boers to sue for peace. The tragic pattern was set. An infamous clause in the peace treaty reserved a decision on the vote for blacks until after self-government was achieved—a clause that swept away the right of blacks to vote in the once liberal Cape Colony.

"It was all for the gold mines," a surviving Tommy told Pakenham years later. So it seemed. Parliament rewarded Kitchener with a £50,000 victory purse—which he promptly cabled his brokers to invest in South African gold mining stocks. Since then, both the investment and the misery have soared. Their limits are still out of sight.

—Maya Mohs

Coin's Edge

FROM THE FIFTEENTH DISTRICT

by Mavis Gallant

Random House; 243 pages; \$8.95

Mavis Gallant. The name has a romantic ring to it, suggesting a pretty girl, sunlight on English countryside and happy endings, possibly during the Battle of Britain. But no modern writer casts a colder eye on life, on death and all the angst and eccentricity in between. A Canadian, Mrs. Gallant has lived in France since World War II. There she produces her lapidary long stories and an occasional dazzling short novel, usually set in Europe. Her work appears regularly in *The New Yorker*. Canada seems to give her the Governor General's Literary Award. But she is not well known in the U.S., or as celebrated as one of the prose masters of the age ought to be.

One reason for lack of popularity may be that Gallant rarely leaves helpful signs and messages that readers tend to expect of "literature". This way to the Meaning or This story is about the Folly of Love. She can sum up the postwar history of a social class in a paragraph. She can effortlessly keep three levels of memory working in a seamless narrative. But in the end the stories are simply there—haunting, enigmatic, printed with images as sharp and durable as the edge of a new coin, relentlessly specific. "God protect us from generalizations," said Chekhov, the writer whose work Gallant's most resembles. "There are a great many opinions in this world, and a good half of them are professed by people who have never been in trouble."

Gallant's characters have been in trouble. They are exiles and émigrés, always from the provinces of the heart, often from some place in Europe tossed by convulsions of war or politics. One story follows the sad, late return (1950) to Berlin of a German prisoner of war in France. Another recounts the trials of an Italian servant girl on the Riviera, working for a neurotic English couple just before Mussolini declared war on France.

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Books

The Moslem Wife is the life story of a woman hotel owner who survives the Occupation and then is importuned by her charming husband, who turns up after running off to America with another woman during the war. "Memory is what ought to prevent you from buying a dog after the first dog dies," she reflects. "It should at least keep you from saying yes twice to the same person." But she takes him back.

Critics have blamed Gallant for not judging more, for not smiling on the good, or frowning on the bad more overtly. In truth, she mostly keeps her feelings protectively compressed behind an almost Conradian irony. Children, servants, old people draw her affection, partly because they are in a better position than the strong or successful to understand the real condition of life: that it is vulnerable to mysterious sudden changes, controlled by powers that the subject does not understand. Imaginative arrangements must be made, all of them temporary. "Gabriel at that time," Gal-



Mavis Gallant

Three levels in a seamless narrative.

lant writes about a young refugee in France, "still imagined that everyone's life must be about the same, something like a half-worked crossword puzzle."

Readers in search of heavier freight might try the small masterpiece *Potter*. It is a love story between Piotr, a Polish academic, and Laurie, a feckless "cheerful" (her spelling) Canadian girl. She calls him "Potter" and for a while provides all the joy and invulnerability that his East European soul needs. "The problem with Polish women, as Piotr saw it, was that they had always just been or were just about to be deserted by their men. At the first rumor of rejection... they gave way at once, stopped combing their hair, stopped making their beds. They lay like starfish, smoking in the strown, scattered way of the downhearted." Laurie is buoyant, immaculate. And then, sadly, Piotr learns that her New World promise is mainly a cosmetic pose. It has already been tainted by despair, exhaustion and a touch of commerce.

— Timothy Foote

Yankee Gothic

CLOVER

by Otto Friedrich

Simon & Schuster; 381 pages; \$12.95

One of the more opulent souvenirs of the Bicentennial was educational television's \$6.7 million, 13-part series, *The Adams Chronicles*, a generational saga of early America's most distinguished family. From the patriarchal John and the vigorous John Quincy, viewers could follow the thinning of bloodlines and the refining of sensibilities. In Part 12, young Henry Adams (1838-1918) meets his future wife, Clover Hooper at the Harvard Library. "Plato! In the original!" exclaims Henry as he glimpses the spine of Clover's book. "Well," she replies, "I don't like translations."

Neither does Otto Friedrich, a senior editor of *TIME* and chronicler of such endings as the last days of the *Saturday Evening Post* (*Decline and Fall*) and the Weimar Republic (*Before the Deluge*). The source of Henry and Clover's meeting, he notes, is not to be found in historical documents but rather in the histrionic imagination of a scriptwriter. Friedrich is uncompromising in his refusal to create drama where there is no supporting evidence. When the situation warrants it, however, he is not above melodrama. At noon on Dec. 6, 1885, Henry Adams entered Clover's bedroom to announce a caller.

"He found her lying on the rug before the fire."

Clover?

She must have fainted. Henry knelt down.

There was a strange smell. One of the chemicals that she used for her photography. Potassium cyanide. From the bottle lying there.

Henry picked up the body, still warm, soft, heavy, and dragged it over to the sofa. Clover did not open her eyes. Did not answer him. Did not move. Did not move."

Until now, no one has attempted to explain why Clover killed herself. Adams never writes about his wife in his autobiography. From outward appearances, theirs was a childless union of matched temperaments enjoying similar tastes, opinions and well-bred friends in Boston, Washington and London. Friedrich fills that gap with a fresh supply of letters, observations and a perceptive linkage of occurrences that could have turned Clover's basic melancholia into self-destruction.

Faced with the mysteries of suicide, Friedrich tentatively offers such explanations as Freud's death drive and Emile Durkheim's theory that with the decline of Christian faith in the 19th century, suicide ceased to be a damnable act. The author seems to share Henry Adams' pref-

erence for the European 12th century and its security of belief as expressed in the glory of Gothic architecture. He does not assert that the decline of the Middle Ages ushered in spiritual malaise, but his descriptions of the dark side of the Yankee mind, the haunted battlefields of the Civil War and the avarice of the Gilded Age as the disturbing context of Henry's and Clover's lives suggest a climate of deepening despair. It is the climate of this richly allusive book, whose central characters are part of the nation's root and fiber, though they lived against the American grain.

— R.Z. Sheppard

Editors' Choice

FICTION: *Old Love*, Isaac Bashevis Singer • *On the Edge of the Cliff*, V.S. Pritchett • *Passion Play*, Jerzy Kosinski • *Shikasta*, Doris Lessing *The Executioner's Song*, Norman Mailer • *The Ghost Writer*, Philip Roth • *Uncollected Stories of William Faulkner*, edited by Joseph Blotner

NONFICTION: *Charmed Lives*, Michael Korda • *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich, as related to and edited by Solomon Volkov* • *The Duke of Deception*, Geoffrey Wolff *The Right Stuff*, Tom Wolfe • *The White Album*, Joan Didion • W.H. Auden, *Charles Osborne* • Zebra, Clark Howard

Best Sellers

FICTION

1. *The Establishment*, *Fast* (1 last week)
2. *Jailbird*, *Vonnegut* (2)
3. *Triple*, *Follett* (3)
4. *The Dead Zone*, *King* (4)
5. *The Green Ripper*, *MacDonald* (7)
6. *The Last Enchantment*, *Stewart* (5)
7. *Sophie's Choice*, *Styron* (6)
8. *The Executioner's Song*, *Mailer* (8)
9. *Shadow of the Moon*, *Kaye* (10)
10. *The Third World War*, *Hackett*, et al. (9)

NONFICTION

1. *The Complete Scarsdale Medical Diet*, *Tanower & Baker* (1)
2. *Aunt Irma's Cope Book*, *Bombbeck* (2)
3. *Restoring the American Dream*, *Ringer* (3)
4. *White House Years*, *Kissinger*
5. *The Right Stuff*, *Wolfe* (4)
6. *The Pritikin Program for Diet and Exercise*, *Pritikin* with *McGrady* (6)
7. *How to Prosper During the Coming Bad Years*, *Ruff* (5)
8. *Cruel Shoes*, *Martin* (8)
9. *Serpentine*, *Thompson* (9)
10. *The Man Who Kept the Secrets*, *Powers* (7)



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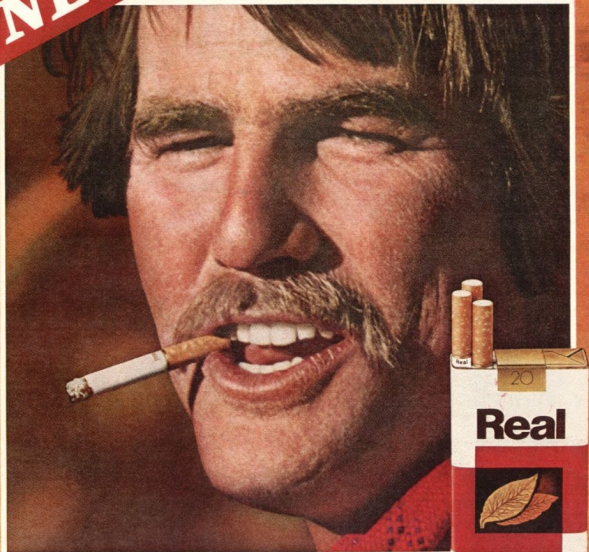
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Theater



Lovers De Munn and Negro in *Modigliani*

Art Bums

MODIGLIANI

by Dennis McIntyre

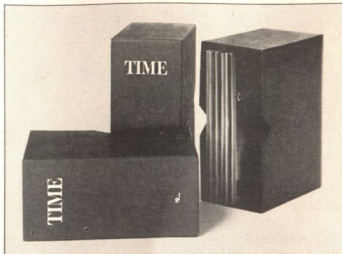
Amedeo Modigliani died at 35 of tuberculosis and the cumulative ravages of drink and drugs. Amedeo means "beloved of God," but Modigliani died bone poor and with no hint of the acclaim his paintings would posthumously receive. Yet the play at Greenwich Village's Astor Place Theater is full of fun, fire and faith, a boozy tribute to art, love and the strange creative uses of adversity.

Modigliani is a portrait of the artist as a Montparnasse bum, or rather three: Modigliani's companions are his fellow painters and fellow flops—as the 1916 taste makers viewed them—Maurice Utrillo and Chaim Soutine. Utrillo (Ethan Phillips) is in thrall to two false gods, alcohol and his mother. Soutine (George Gerdes) is a color addict equally intoxicated by the stains on a butcher's apron and the veins of a plucked chicken. Led by Modigliani (Jeffrey de Munn), these Three Musketeers of the Night smash up cheap restaurants, cadge drinks, slash their canvases in frustrated rage and collapse in wild laughter at their own absurdity.

Modigliani has both a sensual solace and a fiery challenge in his English mistress and nude model, Beatrice Hastings. Mary-Joan Negro plays this role with such formidable passion and intelligence as to conjure up Goethe's "eternal feminine" as the root impulse of creation. Wisely, touchingly, Playwright Dennis McIntyre treats of the artist's self-arming ego and his nightmares of self-doubt. In the title role, Jeffrey de Munn is protean, a mercurial mixture of earth, air, fire and water.

— T.E. Kalem

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Claudinei's parents lack the skills for decent employment. (Brazil)



Ninik's diet consists mainly of cassava and rice. (Indonesia)



Alexandre lives in a crowded area where many people suffer from worms. (India)



Jose lives in a community rampant with malnutrition and tuberculosis. (Guatemala)



Jacinth's parents are anxious to send her to school. But it is too expensive. (India)



Sonia lives in a hut of mud and stone. It has a leaky roof and a dirt floor. (Mexico)



Matano's mother tries to cultivate their small tract of land for food. (Kenya)



Julia is undernourished and desperately in need of medical care. (Guatemala)



Carlos takes care of his little sisters while his mother works as a maid. (Argentina)



Waldeir lives with his mother and two sisters in a wooden shack. (Brazil)



Marciene's mother has a bad heart. She is too weak to support her daughter. (Brazil)



Felipe's mother is illiterate. But she is anxious to send him to school. (Guatemala)

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Christian Children's Fund, Inc.

Thanks to a better idea from Joe Dingus, we've cut costs and increased productivity.



Joe Dingus, who works at Bethlehem's Buffalo Tank Division, was awarded a new car for his better idea: an inexpensive template to facilitate intricate burning of steel plates during fabrication.

Joe's better idea—submitted in Bethlehem's 1978 "Take It To The Top" program—is now helping us cut costs at the Fairfield, Md., plant of our Buffalo Tank Division. Lower costs lead to increased productivity. And increased productivity is one way to fight inflation.

Better ideas save money.

During our 1978 program, Bethlehem employees turned in more than 9,000 ideas for new ways of working smarter. Over the next three years, we expect to save more than \$15 million solely from suggestions generated by that campaign.

And we expect equally as good results from our 1980 program.

People in government can work smarter, too.

When you get right down to it, deficit spending by government is the chief cause of inflation. We need to take better ideas to the top in government, too. We need to keep government aware that unfettered spending must be brought under control—and that one way to check inflation is to make our tax dollars more productive.

Let's all take our better ideas to the top.

Cutting inflation down to size is everybody's business. One way you can help is to take your own better idea for fighting inflation to someone who can do something about it.

That someone may be President Carter...your boss...your governor...your representatives in Congress...?????

Your idea, like Joe's, can make a difference. But only if you share it.

Bethlehem 
Working Smarter

Sport

Moeller High's Holy Rollers

Driven by a football Faust who deserves his bravos

They are the kind of stats that a college powerhouse like Alabama's Crimson Tide might covet, but they belong to Moeller High, a smallish (1,008 students) Roman Catholic boys' school in suburban Cincinnati. In the 17 years since Coach Jerry Faust organized a varsity football squad, his Fighting Crusaders have won 159 games, been tied twice and suffered just 17 losses. They have rolled up eight undefeated seasons, including the one they completed a week ago with a 37-6 win over a larger school, Mount Healthy. That left Moeller firmly entrenched atop the informal lists as the U.S.'s champion secondary school for the third time in four years and further extended the school's collection of trophies: eleven Greater Cincinnati League titles as well as three state, seven regional and nine city crowns. Says one of the pack of university scouts who follow Moeller's fortunes: "This is one of the finest sports dynasties ever. For longevity and total dominance, it's better than U.C.L.A. basketball."

Least battered opponents hope that the dynasty might run down. Faust points to the in-school farm teams that he and his staff of twelve assistant coaches have set up: the freshmen and sophomore squads were both unbeaten this year, and the frosh defense gave up just six points in eight games. Meanwhile Moeller, which draws its students from 13 parishes in Cincinnati's middle-class northeastern suburbs, is besieged with applications from parents of would-be gridiron greats. They figure that the school's \$725 tuition (\$825 for non-Catholics) is a good investment, and with reason. Each year Moeller sends an average of 15 players to college on football scholarships. They have been won by every starting offensive lineman in the past six years and by every starting center and all but one quarterback since 1963. When Notre Dame and Michigan played earlier this year, at one point five of the 22 players on the field were Moeller alumni. Says Faust: "I can tell a boy that if he gets good grades and he's 6 ft. 2 in. and plays on the offensive line, we can almost guarantee him a scholarship."

Faust runs an offense that is as sophisticated as those of most colleges. Among other things, it features passing plays devised by one of the coach's friends from a rival Cincinnati high school, a rather competent quarterback named

Roger Staubach. College coaches value especially the precise execution that Moeller players learn. Woody Hayes made three recruiting trips to the school in his final year at Ohio State, and U.S.C.'s John Robinson, Penn State's Joe Paterno, Michigan's Bo Schembechler and Notre Dame's Dan Devine are regular callers.

Faust, a devout Catholic, insists on fortifying the three Rs of football—rushing, receptions and kick returns—with a



The coach on the field

healthy dose of religion. A sign in the locker room proclaims: GOD + EFFORT + DEDICATION BRINGS VICTORY. Although about 15% of Faust's players are non-Catholic, they all pray together after practice. On game days they attend benediction in the school chapel, then gather round a statue of the Virgin Mary to pray again. Before taking the field, at halftime, and again after the game, further prayers are offered. Admits Assistant Coach Jeff Liebert: "I think we do pray a little more than anybody else."

Moeller also plays a little better than anybody else.

The Moeller monolith not only bowls over all local opponents but dispatches out-of-state challengers as well. This season, Moeller crushed a perennial Detroit schoolboy power, Brother Rice High School, 33-14, then took on the flagship school of the tough western Pennsylvania mine country, Penn Hills High; score: Moeller 30, Penn Hills 13. The Crusaders' final regular season game against Mount Healthy was typical. Despite a

driving rain that turned the field into a swamp, the flashy Moeller offense still operated in high gear, rolling up five touchdowns.

Faust, 44, a gravel-voiced six-footer, is second-generation football. His father, Gerard Sr., now 72, coached for 20 years in Dayton, where young Jerry was an all-state quarterback. After starring at the University of Dayton, Faust joined local Chaminade High as a backfield coach. Hired in 1960 by Moeller to start a freshman football team, Faust first fielded a varsity in 1963, and the Fighting Crusaders dynasty was born.

Faust works his players year round on weight-training equipment, but otherwise there are few frills and fewer regulations for Moeller's football stars. With no home field, the Fighting Crusaders played in seven different stadiums during their ten-game regular season, occasionally cramming into a single bus to save money. As for curfews, Faust says: "I tell them that if they have a solid reason for staying out past 12:30, then they can stay out. They've never given me a reason." But the coach does have one firm player rule: "They better conduct themselves as Christians. That's more important than anything."

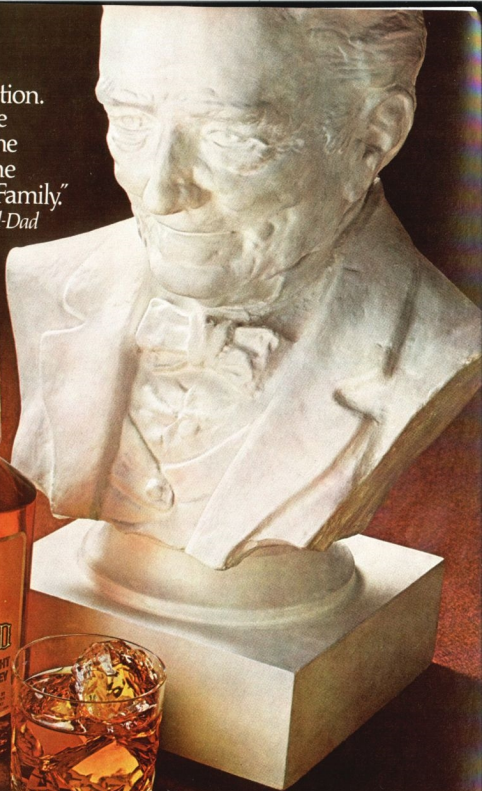
Faust's players are intensely loyal to him. "He treats everyone like a son," says Star Tailback Eric Ellington. "We don't think of him as a coach but as a father." At the end of each season, Moeller's football father says farewell in an emotional ceremony that has become traditional. After the final practice, the seniors line up to shake hands with the underclassmen and assistant coaches. This year, as always, Faust stood at the end of the line. He embraced each player, and when the ceremony was over, the teary-eyed seniors nodded their approval of Assistant Coach Bill Clark's assertion: "The greatest team you will ever be on is the team you're on right now."



The Fighting Crusaders and their leader joining in a pregame prayer in the locker room

Fortifying football's three Rs—rushing, receptions and returns—with a dose of religion.

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